

TIMELY AND IMPORTANT ARTICLES ON LABOR AT HOME AND ABROAD

The American
FEDERATIONIST

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THE GAVEL IS WIELDED BY PRESIDENT GEORGE MEANY AT COUNCIL MEETING
IN CHICAGO AS SECRETARY-TREASURER WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER LOOKS ON



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The American FEDERATIONIST

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AUGUST, 1953

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

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Progress

From the beginning of history there has been a clash of interests among people. These have been based largely upon differences—economic differences, political, religious, mental and social differences. The most important of these, perhaps accounting for some others, has been the economic disparity—the workers, who produce all wealth not provided by nature, getting but a small share and those who have controlled production getting the most of it.

It is interesting to note that great progress has been made since the organization of the American Federation of Labor in 1881. Naturally, organized labor does not claim credit for all the progress achieved since 1881, but the labor movement has been a mighty factor—if not the chief factor—in the economic development of wage-earners and in human progress.

Organized labor has helped all wage-earners immeasurably, the unorganized as well as its members. All are farther advanced by reason of the time, money and effort expended in and for the cause by members.

Organized labor has reached its present position of respect and of influence because it has proved practical and essential to the social and economic development of our people.

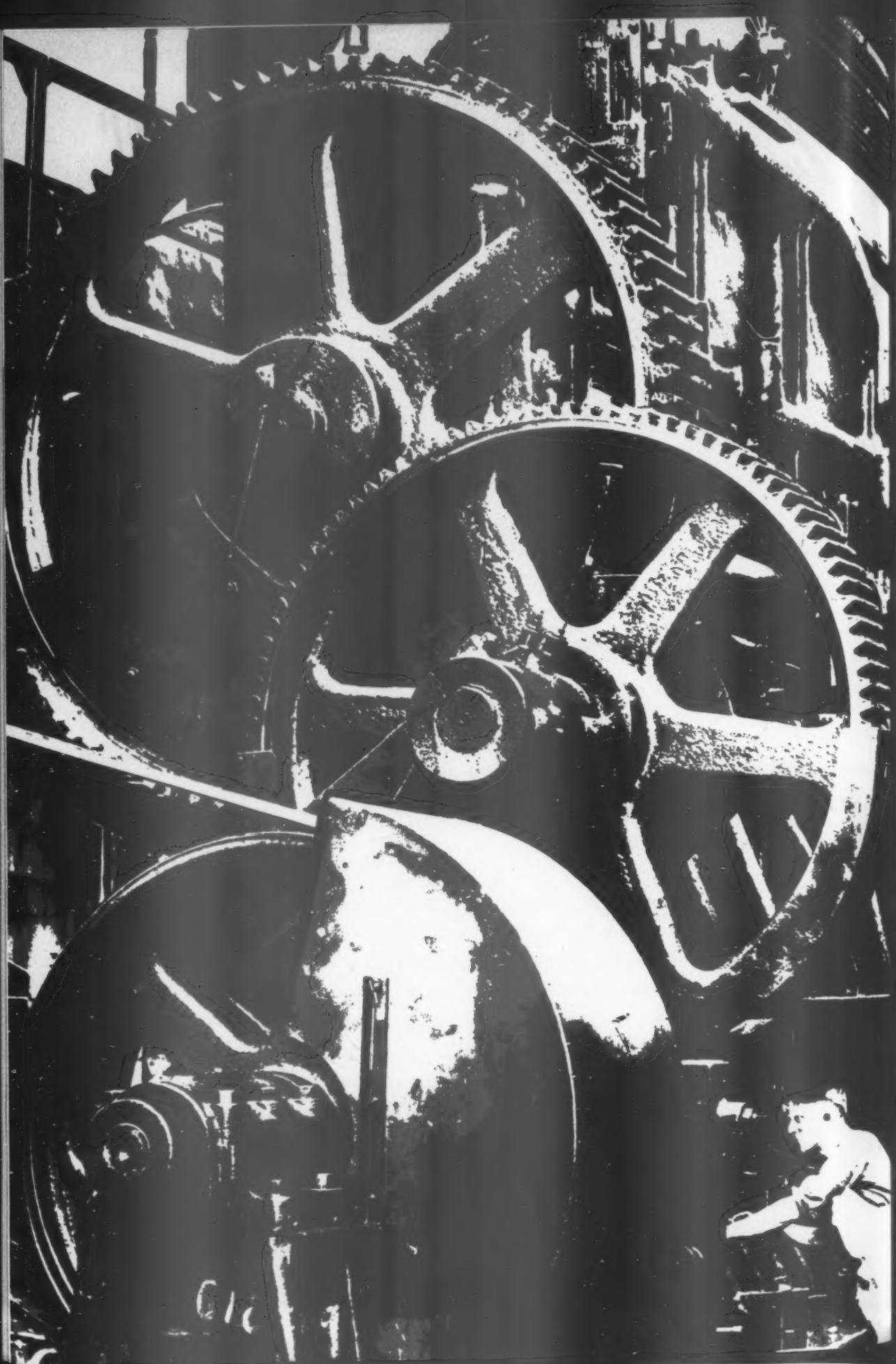
Only through organization into legitimate unions can wage-earners hope to continue forward.

Manifestly, organized labor has contributed and is contributing a vital part of the sum total in the progress of humanity.

Frank Morrison.

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THE COUNCIL TAKES ACTION

THE Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in session at Chicago, voted to recommend to the A. F. of L. convention next month that the International Longshoremen's Association be suspended.

The Executive Council found that the union had failed to comply with directives to end racketeering and to institute democratic procedures. These directives were issued by the Council at its meeting last February.

The recommendation of the Council will be submitted to the A. F. of L. convention, which will be held in St. Louis beginning September 21, and the recommendation will go into effect when approved by the delegates.

The decision of the Council in regard to the International Longshoremen's Association, of which Joseph P. Ryan is president, was communicated to the officers and members of that organization in a letter signed by A. F. of L. President George Meany. [See Page 5 for full text of the letter.]

At a press conference, responding to various questions from reporters, Mr. Meany said:

"If the I.L.A. officials can meet the requirements of the American Federation of Labor in good faith, we would be very glad to take action at a later date to reinstate—but it is quite plain that we want action, not promises of action."

At the Chicago meeting a great deal of time was devoted by the Executive Council to the preparation of its report to the coming convention. As in former years, the report will cover a multitude of subjects which concern working people.

The Executive Council criticized Congress for an unsatisfactory record at the session just closed. The national legislative body, said the Council, "did little more than tread water."

"Instead of advancing, Congress actually drifted back," the Council's statement pointed out.

The A. F. of L. leaders criticized Congress for crippling the public housing program, wiping out rent control, slashing funds for the Labor Department and failing to fulfill the pledge to amend the Taft-Hartley Act



President Meany greets Vice-President Petrillo at Chicago meeting

to make it fair to both labor and management.

The statement on Congress also noted that there has been no action to improve the social security system, to improve health and to aid education.

"The American people can take little consolation from the thought that 'things might have been worse,'" said the Council. "At this hour of history America cannot afford a do-nothing Congress. The job of maintaining a strong foreign policy for America and keeping our domestic economy at a high level of employment requires an alert Congress able to meet pressing issues without evasion."

All citizens were urged to make clear to their Senators and Congressmen, before their return to Washington for the next session, "the necessity for enacting a courageous and constructive program which would fill the vacuum left by the recent session."

In its statement the Council gave Congress credit for constructive action in the field of foreign affairs.

Following the action by the Ex-

ecutive Council endorsing a no-raiding agreement between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners suddenly served notice that it was withdrawing from the A. F. of L.

M. A. Hutcheson, president of the Carpenters, handed a letter to President Meany announcing the union's action. As a result of the withdrawal of the Carpenters, William L. Hutcheson of that union ceased to be first vice-president of the American Federation of Labor. All other vice-presidents moved up a notch, a vacancy then resulting in the thirteenth vice-presidency.

Dave Beck, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, was chosen to fill the vacancy on the Executive Council caused by the withdrawal of the Carpenters. Last year Mr. Beck became president of the Teamsters, succeeding the veteran Daniel J. Tobin. Now president emeritus of the Teamsters, Mr. Tobin continues as a member of the Executive Council. Prior to his election as president of the Teamsters, Mr. Beck



Vice-Presidents Winter, Dubinsky and McFetridge (from left to right) snapped at busy August session

had served that union as executive vice-president and as head of the Western Conference of Teamsters.

Mr. Meany told a news conference that the Council voted to recommend an enlargement of the Council to next month's St. Louis convention. The recommendation will be for fifteen A. F. of L. vice-presidents instead of the present thirteen.

Following is the text of the M. A. Hutcheson letter to President Meany announcing the Carpenters' withdrawal from the A. F. of L.:

Dear Sir and Brother:

Having been advised that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor adopted a proposition of "no raiding" between the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. without giving any consideration to the disruptive conditions within the American Federation of Labor itself, and as the record will show that for many years past the Building Trades Department and its affiliates have submitted to the Executive Council numerous complaints regarding disputes, and either through inability or disregard for the existing conditions the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has taken no action to remedy same; from the action just taken it indicates that they are more concerned with the affairs of the C.I.O. than they are with those of the Federation.

We have no objection to "no raiding" agreements between all organ-

izations in or out of the American Federation of Labor; however, if the American Federation of Labor is not able to control its own affiliates, our organization being no exception, we fail to see where there is any benefit to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America to continue paying per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

Therefore, I am hereby notifying you of our withdrawal as of this date.

Fraternally yours,
M. A. Hutcheson.

The news of the action taken by President Hutcheson came as a great



President Beck of Teamsters was named a Council member

surprise to thousands of members of the Carpenters and to many officers of locals of that union. Within a few hours the American Federation of Labor was receiving many messages and communications from local officers and members of the Carpenters expressing their deep regret at the sudden withdrawal action and their desire to see their union back in the A. F. of L. fold without delay.

In addition to the loss of William Hutcheson's seat on the Executive Council, the withdrawal action means that the Carpenters are out of State Federations of Labor, city central bodies and building trades councils.

The no-raiding agreement was approved with two minor changes to correct defects in language. The step is considered a major one toward the achievement of labor unity. Next month the agreement will go before the A. F. of L. convention.

The Executive Council criticized Congress for its "ill-conceived" actions in regard to housing. The Council assailed the new "high-interest, high-cost policies."

In a press conference A. F. of L. President Meany remarked:

"Here we are, the greatest country on earth, and we're falling down on this basic question of housing."

The Executive Council's meeting was held at the Palmer House.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S STATEMENTS

Longshoremen

The decision of the Executive Council in the case of the International Longshoremen's Association was made known in a letter sent by President George Meany of the American Federation of Labor. The text of the letter was as follows:

To the Officers and Members of the Executive Council of the International Longshoremen's Association.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

On behalf of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, I am authorized and directed to inform you that we have received and considered your supplemental report of July 27, 1953, in response to our letters of February 3 and May 26, 1953, and we have also considered your verbal statements made to our Executive Council during your personal appearance the morning of August 10, 1953.

In our letter of February 3, 1953, we reviewed your relationship with the American Federation of Labor in the light of disclosures developed by the New York State Crime Commission and we called upon the officers and members of the International Longshoremen's Association to take immediate action to supplant the shape-up by a system of regular employment and legitimate hiring methods; to immediately remove from office union representatives with criminal records and those who accepted gifts and bribes from employers, and to institute democratic procedures in the conduct of local and international union affairs.

Finally, we called upon you to immediately take such remedial actions as are necessary to place the International Longshoremen's Association and its local unions above suspicion and completely free of all racketeering, crime, corruption and other irregular activities disclosed by the recent investigation of crime, to the end that your international and local unions will serve the legitimate social and economic needs of the members in keeping with the true trade union principles traditionally established by the American Federation of Labor.

Since we do not regard your supplemental report of July 27, 1953, nor the representations made by you verbally at the hearing on the morning of August 10, 1953, as taking effective action to comply with our request of February 3, 1953, you are officially advised that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will recommend to the seventy-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, to be held in St. Louis, Missouri, commencing September 21, 1953, that the International



Harry C. Bates (left) and W. C. Birthright at the Council meeting. Mr. Bates is Bricklayers' chief. Mr. Birthright heads Barbers

Longshoremen's Association be suspended from affiliation until such time as the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is satisfied that the International Longshoremen's Association has taken the necessary action to comply in good faith with our request of February 3, 1953.

Congress

The performance of Congress was discussed by the Executive Council in the following statement:

The last session of Congress did little more than tread water. Instead of advancing, Congress actually drifted back.

On a few issues, the first session of this Congress did take constructive action. In the field of foreign affairs, support was given to continuing the nation's firm policy of opposing the threat of Soviet aggression. The mutual security program was continued, although only limited funds were provided. Legislative authority for the reciprocal trade agreements program was extended without crippling amendments. Congress also passed a bill to admit 214,000 refugees, although the provisions of the law were watered down considerably from the President's request.

However, on many major domestic issues Congress took little or no action. American workers have looked

in vain for the fulfillment of the pledge to amend the Taft-Hartley Law to make it truly equitable to both labor and management. Although lengthy hearings were held by both the Senate and House Labor Committees, no action was taken; in fact, no bill was even reported out of the committee. Nor has the executive branch of the government submitted to Congress any recommendations for improving the law.

The President was able to persuade Congress to adopt his recommendation for extending the excess profits tax until the end of this year. All but forgotten in this fight were the President's recommendations to extend corporation and other taxes expiring April 1, 1954, on which no action was taken. Unless these actions are reversed, it will cost the government an estimated \$8 billion annually in revenue, thereby throwing further out of balance an already seriously unbalanced budget.

There has been little effort to make badly needed improvements in the nation's social security system. Although the President has made some valuable recommendations for extending the coverage of the social security system, these came too late to be acted upon at this session. In addition, action is delayed while a subcommittee of the House Ways and Means

Committee, unsympathetic to social security, conducts a "study" of the entire program.

There was no action on aid to education, to improve health or on many other needed steps to reinforce the country's welfare.

The so-called "economy drive" plowed under scores of programs vital to the people. Those affecting labor were hit especially hard. Administrative funds for the major government agency responsible for programs affecting the welfare of American workers, the Department of Labor, were severely slashed. The Labor Department, already the smallest government department, now has to absorb a heavier cut than Agriculture or Commerce.

One of the most crippling blows that Congress struck was directed at the low-rent public housing program. By setting a limit of 20,000 on the number of low-rent units that can be constructed during the coming year, and by directing the liquidation of this program, Congress has denied low-income families all over the country any hope of moving out of slum dwellings. In addition, Congressional action killing rent control as of July 31 deprived over 6,000,000 tenant families of any protection against unwarranted rent boosts.

On many other issues Congress left behind a record which utterly fails to meet the needs of the American people. Congressional action on the misnamed "Tidelands" bill, ceding to the states the submerged lands lying off their coasts, represents a bonanza for the wealthy oil and natural gas companies. Although federal jurisdiction was maintained over the submerged lands in the so-called "continental shelf," the final bill did not include the Senate-approved "oil for education" amendment which would use the federal revenues from these lands to make badly needed improvements in our public educational system.

Authority for standby controls, obviously necessary in the event of another emergency, was rejected. Funds for such forward-looking agencies as the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Rural Electrification Administration were slashed. No action was taken on such vital measures as statehood for Hawaii and Alaska and home rule for the District of Columbia.

The American people can take little consolation from the thought that "things could have been worse." At this hour of history, America cannot afford a do-nothing Congress. The job of maintaining a strong foreign policy for America and keeping our domestic economy at a high level of employment requires an alert Congress able to meet pressing issues without evasion.

The American Federation of Labor calls on the American people to make clear between now and January to

their Congressmen and Senators the necessity for enacting a courageous and constructive program which would fill the vacuum left by the recent session.

Housing

The Executive Council issued the following statement on the housing situation:

Our country is confronted with a staggering need for better housing—now and in the next six years. Our population has passed the 160,000,000 mark and should reach 175,000,000 by 1960. Requirements for new housing, visible in the immediate future, will pile up on top of the heavy housing deficit we already have today. If these needs are to be met, the recent ill-conceived Congressional action terminating the vital public housing program must be reversed, and the new high-interest, high-cost policies must be drastically revised.

We must build a minimum of 12,500,000 new non-farm homes and apartments by the end of 1959 if we are to meet the full housing need of the non-farm families of the nation, according to the newly completed study by the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor.

The A. F. of L. Housing Committee's report points out that, if we are to accomplish this objective during the six-year period 1954-1959, non-farm residential construction will have to average more than 2,000,000 units a year. This compares with a record of only about 1,400,000 units in 1950, the all-time peak year, and an average of only a little more than 1,100,000 units during the three-year period 1951-1953.

The A. F. of L. Housing Committee's estimate of 12,500,000 units as the total net need for new housing by the end of 1959 has been made on the basis of extremely conservative assumptions. It is decidedly a minimum estimate based only on rock-bottom physical requirements for non-farm housing.

Whether the actual need by the end of 1959 is at the 12,500,000 minimum estimated by the A. F. of L. or greater, it is clear that unless the present rate of homebuilding is speeded up considerably, our unmet housing needs will increase year by year. Even to begin to achieve the necessary rate of construction, it is essential that far more new housing be made available to low- and middle-income families than is now being provided for them.

For years the real estate and home-builders' organizations have been expounding the so-called "trickle-down" theory. According to this theory, if all or most new homes are built for higher-income families, the houses they formerly occupied will "trickle down" to the next lower income group and so on down the line to the lowest-income families.

Aside from the fact that low- and moderate-income families are entitled to a fair share of the new housing that

is built, the dangerous fallacy in this theory is that if nearly all new homes go to the higher-income families, we do not get enough houses built to meet the total housing requirements of the nation. To assure an adequate volume of construction, a considerable proportion of new homes must be made available to low- and moderate-income families at costs that they can afford.

Past experience has provided unchallengeable proof that not nearly enough new housing will be made available to such families if we depend entirely on speculative builders to do the job. There is therefore an urgent need for legislative enactments specifically directed to help provide housing for families who cannot afford today's high-price homes and apartments. Instead, Congress has terminated the low-rent public housing program as of the end of the current fiscal year and has largely ignored the accumulated housing needs of middle-income families.

Thus, the choice we must make is a clear one. One alternative is to continue to build high-price housing beyond the means of most families. If we follow this course, total construction will fall short of the amount required to meet the nation's housing needs and our housing deficit will increase each year.

The other alternative, the one which the American Federation of Labor has urged for many years, is for Congress to enact legislation to make possible construction of good homes for low- and middle-income families. If such action is taken, we can achieve the necessary total housing output, make up the accumulated housing deficit and realize within a relatively few years the long-sought goal of a decently housed America.

Chicago Will See Big Union Exhibit

Material on trade unionism collected by the Chicago Union Label and Service Trades Council will be displayed in the Chicago Public Library from August 30 to September 5. Council President Peter J. Bockstahler and Secretary-Treasurer Eleanor Mueller are preparing the exhibit in cooperation with Irene Peterson, head of the library's Business and Civics Department.

Historical data, organizing literature, financial reports, union shop cards, labels and buttons are among the material being selected. In addition, the library and its branches will feature labor books, pamphlets and union journals during the week.

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Labor in Red China

by

RICHARD DEVERALL

A. F. of L. Representative in Asia

TOKYO. THE prelude to the seventh congress of the All-China Federation of Labor was a huge demonstration staged in Tien-an-men Square, Peking. In the reviewing stand Chairman Mao Tse-tung waved to the marching Chinese—the Young Pioneers (Communist children's association), the Young Communist League, the Red Army and the so-called "labor heroes" of Red China.

Also in the reviewing stand were members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Red Army, Monsieur Louis Saillant of the so-called World Federation of Trade Unions and delegates from the puppet "labor unions" of the Soviet Union, North Korea and other countries.

The next day, in the giant Huai Jen Tang Hall in the "Forbidden City" of Peking, the congress began. The site was the same building in which the victorious Communists had met in 1949 to hammer out the program that put the people of China under the brutal dictatorship of the Communist Party.

A prominent place at the congress was reserved for Saillant of the W.F.T.U. and for Comrade I. V. Goroshkin, "leader of the Soviet Trade Union Delegation."

Even before the congress met, the official mouthpiece of the Mao regime had declared:

"Through this conference the All-China Federation of Labor will continue to adhere to and carry out the principle and working line of the trade unions as laid down by Chairman Mao and the Communist Party."

Thus the program announced in advance left no room for debate or discussion by the delegates. The policy was handed to them by the Peking regime—the "working line" of the Chinese Communist Party!

The opening speech was made by a veteran Communist, Liu Shao-chi, the honorary chairman. The main task of the workers of China, he said, is to sweat and strain to bring

about the industrialization of Red China and the creation of strong war and munitions industries. He called on the workers to observe "strict economy" and told them to "study the advanced experience of the Soviet Union."

Liu Shao-chi then noted that the workers of Red China have not yet been thoroughly indoctrinated with the ideology of communism. He criticized the past work of the All-China Federation of Labor and denounced the persistence of old ideas about labor's right to strike and bargain collectively. He sternly told the delegates:

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party hopes that you will seriously develop criticism and self-criticism in order to make known the good points, overcome defects and correct mistakes, in order that the work of trade unions, under the leadership of the Communist Party, may be further improved and that our trade unions will actually become, as Lenin said, the 'builder of new life,' the 'educator of tens of millions.'

Liu Shao-chi was followed by Mr. Lai Jo-yu, a functionary of the Chinese Communist Party, who was elected as president of the All-China Federation of Labor for 1953-1954. Mr. Lai Jo-yu opened his speech by warmly welcoming Saillant and Goroshkin. After reemphasizing the declaration of Liu Shao-chi that the All-China Federation of Labor is under the direction of the Chinese Communist Party, Lai Jo-yu praised the workers for their war production which, he said, had made it possible for the Chinese Communist army to fight in Korea.

The speaker noted with pleasure that since the Communists took over control of the entire Chinese mainland, there have been no strikes and the workers have entered the "campaign for patriotic pledges and labor emulation," which in effect means that they have broken all labor stand-

ards in the mad speed-up system which now grips Red China under the banner of the "patriotic emulation movement."

Lai Jo-yu made plain that the All-China Federation of Labor had committed grave "deviations" in trying to bargain with employers in order to secure wage increases for the workers. As he told the delegates, a trade union under the Communist Party has only these tasks—to make the workers work harder and harder, to forbid them to strike and to encourage labor speed-up at starvation wages.

Lai Jo-yu's speech was the most perfect sample of the assassination of free trade unionism that can be found in modern times! It was a bold admission that the All-China Federation of Labor does not exist for the benefit of the working people but is the puppet and running dog of the Communist ideologists who have seized power over the Chinese people.

The speaker demanded that there be "conscious labor discipline." In Red China this means no absenteeism and not too many trips to the toilet during working hours.

AT THE second session of the congress, Hsu Chih-chen, chief of the Organization Department of the All-China Federation of Labor, outlined changes needed in the Federation's constitution. He was followed by Li Tsai-wen, chief of the General Affairs Department, who noted that since the All-China Federation of Labor had come under the Chinese Communist regime, it had been largely financed by the Communist government. But now, Li Tsai-wen stated, the A.C.F.L. would have to become self-supporting.

And so went the sessions of the puppet All-China Federation of Labor.

The evening before the congress was to end, Premier Chou En-lai gave a (*Continued on Page 25*)

The A. F. of L. in Massachusetts

By HENRY J. BRIDES

President, Massachusetts Federation of Labor

Referenda 5, 6 and 7—the story of fighting unionism. The greatest challenge to the Massachusetts Federation of Labor and the greatest victory. A victory destined to spur the Federation on to even greater accomplishments. A victory won by the teamster who left his truck to answer the call, the garment worker, the electrical worker, the meat cutter, the laborer, the entire entertainment industry.

A victory destined to weld every segment of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor into one of the most effective educational and political groups ever seen in the commonwealth.

Organized labor was to learn the value of the lowly postcard, to learn the vital necessity of local registration and organization drives. Labor was to learn the know-how of publicity through radio, publications and billboards. Organization of rallies and assemblies was to take to the rank and file the issues and the truth. On Election Day labor was ready with all the usual paraphernalia of sound trucks, buttons, cards and stickers.

And on November 4, 1948, under the spur of one of the most intensive educational drives in labor history, the voices of hundreds of thousands of the citizens of Massachusetts and organized labor swelled into almost a million strong and shouted "no" to the labor referenda that would have outlawed union security and sounded labor's death-knell in Massachusetts.

The men and women of organized labor went back to their trades and crafts, but the seeds they planted have taken root and grown. Grown into a dynamic program that has made the Massachusetts Federation of Labor a powerful, fighting institution dedicated to the legislative, educational

and social advancement of those who toil.

Ever mindful of the fact that collective bargaining processes in the state may be stifled by repressive legislation, the Massachusetts Federation has maintained a constant vigil on



President Brides speaking at a Navy Yard

the statutes enacted within the commonwealth. Also mindful of the fact that only through enactment of various laws can Massachusetts achieve a balanced economic and community life, the Massachusetts Federation of Labor has presented to the legislature each year a constructive program for social justice and economic progress.

That major portions of this program have been adopted by the Massachusetts Legislature can be directly traced to the aggressive leadership of Kenneth J. Kelley, secretary-treasurer and legislative agent of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor.

One of the most noteworthy of the legislative victories won within the last decade has been the Massachusetts anti-injunction law, an outstandingly progressive law, well in step with the Massachusetts tradition of early enactment of advanced social legislation. With the signing of the

anti-injunction law, the long drive of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor to curb the power of the state courts to issue injunctions was brought to a successful climax.

Under the new law, strikes for various forms of union and closed shops were specifically legalized, except where forbidden by Taft-Hartley. The provisions of the law further call for union notification of any hearing for the purpose of issuing a temporary restraining order.

Implementing the program of social justice, the Massachusetts Federation of Labor has attacked, on all fronts, inequities within the social system. Under the provisions of a bill filed by Secretary-Treasurer Kelley, Massachusetts prohibited job discrimination against older workers aged 45 to 65.

The problems of the aging population had long been a primary concern of the State Federation of Labor. The anti-discrimination statute has reversed the heartless policy of insurance companies, banks and large industries against the hiring of any worker over 45. The saving in human skill and dignity resulting from this law is beyond computation.

Another incident of vital importance was the recent proposed change in the reorganization of the industrial accident board. The proposed plan of the newly elected governor would have eliminated the constituted board and required any future member to be a lawyer. One of the members to have been eliminated was the highly respected and capable Tommy Bowes, a former president of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor.

So impressed was the Legislature with the determination of the Federation's activity that the proposed change was quietly buried and the

agency, while transferred to another division, kept its membership intact.

Since non-occupational disability has long been one of labor's thorniest social problems, the State Federation of Labor has fought an unceasing battle for a cash sickness program with a state fund. Only the actions of renegade representatives who have placed insurance interests above human interests prevented the workers from being covered by a comprehensive insurance program without the exorbitant profits being handed over to greedy insurance companies.

Difficult indeed would be the task of presenting completely the legislative work undertaken by the energetic Ken Kelley. But whenever and wherever legislative topics such as minimum wage, social security, public housing, safety codes, retirement funds, labor spies, state income taxes, workmen's and unemployment compensation are discussed, the Massachusetts Federation of Labor is ever present, carefully scrutinizing vital legislation to protect the interests of Federation members as well as all the other workers in the state.

ALERTED by the anti-labor referendum, the Massachusetts Federation of Labor saw the need of a continuing labor educational program designed not only for rank-and-file members of unions but for the general public as well. And so, in convention assembled, the delegates at the 1948 convention enthusiastically embarked upon an ambitious program that was to find its way into almost every high school and adult education group in the Bay State.

Under the careful and conscientious leadership of Francis E. Lavigne, a former Teamster business agent, the Committee on Education undertook a three-fold program.

The first was to provide opportunities for the youth of our state for higher education. A scholarship program was established granting annually two \$500 awards to students chosen in statewide competition embracing labor history, structure and accomplishments. This scholarship program grew from a small beginning to a massive program involving over 2,000 high school students in 1953. Each student was given a "student packet" prepared by the Committee on Education containing literature

supplied by the Workers' Education Bureau and various international unions.

All the major educational groups within the state as well as many civic organizations have endorsed the scholarship program, and lively competition among the state's high schools has developed. Discussion groups, labor units and thorough preparation have been undertaken by many of the social science teachers. The result has been not only to encourage higher education, but also to educate the young workers who will soon enter the ranks of labor in the ideals and traditions of the American Federation of Labor.

Under constant questioning from their students, many of the teachers throughout the state have turned to labor education services to supplement and broaden their own knowledge of the labor movement.

The central labor unions of Massachusetts have recognized the great potentiality of local participation in the highly spirited contest having such far-reaching public relations value for labor. Wherever financially possible, the central bodies have established awards to be given to the students who finished highest in their respective areas. Among the central bodies collaborating with the statewide contest of the Federation are those in Brockton, Cambridge, Gloucester, Holyoke, Northampton, Quincy, Springfield and Worcester, swelling the total amount annually granted to students to almost \$3000.

The second major portion of the education program concerned itself with the development of training for leadership and union responsibility. High on the list of Federation accomplishments has been the annual fellowship awards to the Harvard trade union program. Each year the State Federation of Labor has offered on a competitive basis to A. F. of L. trade unionists two \$1500 fellowships.

Cognizant of the need for broad-based rank-and-file education, the Committee on Education has facilities for the distribution of literature at local meetings, its own monthly news-



Recent winners of scholarships offered by the Federation to high school students

paper, the *Reporter*, and a roster of able speakers who discuss various common union problems.

Labor films are also available for local union meetings, as well as for showing before educational and civic groups. The Committee on Education undertook the filming of its 1952 labor institute, one of the "firsts" in the list of progressive educational activities of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor. Each year the Federation conducts scheduled regional conferences where the officers of the Federation travel to all parts of the state to discuss the legislative program and educational activities of the organization.

Highlight of the Education Committee activities is the annual labor institute, a week-end conference conducted at one of the universities. This year labor's growing interest in world affairs was demonstrated by the attendance of over 200 A. F. of L. members at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, where the theme of the annual labor institute was "world affairs." The delegates learned full well that man's horizon now must include the entire world, and that labor is truly the only binding international force.

THE third major undertaking of the Education Committee has been the political education work of the Massachusetts Federation's L.L.P.E. Operating under the time-proven adage of Samuel Gompers—"Elect your friends and defeat your enemies"—the state L.L.P.E. has instituted a vigorous program of endorsing the representatives at both the state and federal level who have (Continued on Page 26)

Excitement in West Germany

By HENRY RUTZ

A. F. of L. Representative in Germany

NEXT year there will be elections for a new Bundestag [West German Parliament]. Here the German Trade Union Federation will have the opportunity to push through its ideas of a progressive codetermination law using methods provided for by the Constitution."

—Chancellor Adenauer in a letter, May 16, 1952, to the president of the German Trade Union Federation.

On July 30, 1953, the German Trade Union Federation (D.G.B.), following the advice of Chancellor Adenauer as quoted above, issued a proclamation having to do with the coming parliamentary elections, September 6. It criticized the present coalition government and called upon the men and women of organized labor to "elect a better Bundestag."

And then the excitement began.

For one whole week the first pages of the newspapers of Western Germany featured the D.G.B. charges, Chancellor Adenauer's counter-charges and the D.G.B.'s counter-counter-charges. The main counter-charge made by Chancellor Adenauer is that criticism of his government by the D.G.B. is a violation of the D.G.B.'s policy of political neutrality.

The proclamation of the German Trade Union Federation has raised a political storm unprecedented in the annals of the new republic. Let us examine the cause of the Chancellor's ire.

The D.G.B.'s election proclamation charges that the outgoing government of Dr. Adenauer had met only in part the demands of organized labor. These demands and charges, as listed in the D.G.B. statement, are:

Legislation for full employment.

During the past four years unemployment fluctuated between 6½ per cent and 12 per cent of registered employables. In addition, hundreds of thousands were placed on part-time work.

A comprehensive housing construction program.

Twice the number of dwellings could have been built in accordance with D.G.B. recommendations.

A higher living standard.

The maladjustment between earnings and prices has not been overcome despite higher productivity of the individual employee.

Democratization of the economy and equal rights of the working population with management in the economic sphere.

The General Codetermination Law passed by Parliament falls far short of the provisions contained in the special Codetermination Law passed for the decartelized Ruhr coal and steel industries formerly under Allied control. In the first, labor has minor representation, whereas in the latter the workers in the plants, through their unions, have equal representation with the shareholders in the running of a plant.

Uniform and progressive social legislation.

The Bundestag has not eliminated the disparities of the old labor law. The aged and incapacitated are still in distress. Genuine self-administration of the social security agencies, with equal labor representation on the governing boards, has not been created.

Maintenance of government subsidies to keep down the prices for bread and fats.

The federal government has abolished these safeguards of low living costs.

A social tax legislation.

The Bundestag adopted a tax law which hits the wage-earner particularly hard and therefore is anti-social.

A progressive administration of the Federal German Republic.

During the past four years reactionaries have attained ever stronger influence in leading posi-

tions in the government's domestic and foreign offices.

The D.G.B. statement then concludes with the following:

"Vote only for such men and women who are either trade union members or who have proved by their conduct in the past that they will fulfill your justified wishes and demands in the new Bundestag. * * *

"Whoever is for peace and progress, freedom and unity, whoever is against dictatorship and war, terror and nights of bombing befalling us again, must help to exclude those elements which wish to plunge the German people again into misfortune by casting his vote to elect a better Bundestag."

The proclamation was signed by the president of the D.G.B. and by the presidents of its sixteen affiliated national unions.

Granted, the last paragraph of the statement could have been worded more carefully. Certainly few of the members of the Christian Democratic Union (C.D.U.), Chancellor Adenauer's own party, would fall into the category of "elements which wish to plunge the German people again into misfortune."

However, the Chancellor has surrounded himself with cabinet ministers who are rabidly anti-labor. Economics Minister Erhard, for example, during the metal workers' strike in Hesse, advised an employers' association meeting not to raise wages because of the danger of inflation. Minister of Interior Lehr threatened to employ his national police forces if unions used their economic power for other than "legitimate purposes." Justice Minister Dehler, in a radio talk over the Munich station, called the German Trade Union Federation a cancerous growth on the body of the new republic. Transportation Minister Seeböhm, in a speech, stated that he bows to all symbols which

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In addition, leading members of two parties in Dr. Adenauer's coalition, the Free Democratic Party (F.D.P.) and the German Party (D.P.), have had some rather dubious connections with former Nazi Party bigwigs during the past few years.

The government, in its answer to the D.G.B., points out that, although there are still over 1,000,000 unemployed, and refugees are still coming in from the East, new jobs have been provided for 2,300,000 workers since 1948. It also insists that its housing program has exceeded expectations and asserts that the new tax laws are

not a burden for the lower-income groups.

Be that as it may. The fact remains that, judged by American standards, the D.G.B.'s "political proclamation" is a tame one indeed. We in America go much further in that we mention names, publish the individual (Continued on Page 25)

Situation in East Germany

By IRVING BROWN

A. F. of L. Representative in Europe

THE June revolt of the East Berlin and East German workers was spontaneous. There is absolutely no evidence of any premeditated plans of organization. The causes leading up to the outbreak of the strikes are to be found in the economic misery and the political tyranny of the East German Communist regime.

For a long time the East German workers have not had enough food or clothing or enough of anything. Even when they could muster together sufficient funds there have not been enough goods available. This has been further aggravated by the inhuman speed-up in the factories. This has led not only to a reduction of purchasing power but has made it impossible for workers to lead a normal individual or family life.

The spark which set off the explosion was the increase in the norms of work which led to a further cut of at least 10 per cent in workers' wages. Mass discontent became so serious that even the East German government retreated and made concessions. This was in line with the general change of line dictated by Moscow.

Although the movement started spontaneously, it is being transformed into the beginnings of a new trade union movement which is challenging the state company union setup of the Freier Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund.

This trade union challenge has put the Soviet in a great dilemma.

To permit this free trade union development to continue would jeopardize the entire system of totalitarian



MR. BROWN

power in Eastern Germany. On the other hand, to pursue a policy of complete repression, which appears to be in process, unmasks the entire international Soviet policy as a mere maneuver for tactical purposes.

It is clear that in either event the revolutionary and historical developments in Eastern Germany have forced the Soviets into an impossible and contradictory situation.

Many of the workers' leaders in the Eastern Zone have been arrested. At one time it was estimated that over 10,000 had been imprisoned. When we were in Berlin there were reports that some of the arrested leaders were returning to their jobs.

All over Eastern Germany the workers are clamoring for the return of their leaders, and this is the cause for much of the continuing resistance.

All the East German leaders with whom we talked emphasized that the people of Eastern Germany have a completely hostile attitude toward the so-called S.E.D. regime of the German puppet Communists. They will have no truck with them. In the strikes on June 17 the workers threw these leaders out of their buildings and, in many cases, ran them out of town. In many towns where the workers took over the government and would not make any concessions to the local Communist regime, they showed, on the other hand, a different attitude toward the Soviet troops, welcoming and in some cases even fraternizing with them.

The revolt of the German workers has been a shattering experience for young Soviet citizens in uniform who have been indoctrinated with the idea that strikes occur only against capitalists and not against their so-called "workers' fatherland."

From many conversations we had with East German strike leaders we learned that the Eastern Zone workers are pushing the following program:

- (1) General strike if workers' demands are not met.
- (2) Release of all political prisoners.
- (3) The end of the Communist regime and of the puppet East German government.
- (4) Direct negotiations with the Soviets and not with their German puppets.
- (5) All-German unity based upon free elections and free choice of political parties.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

CONGRESS has voted to hold public housing construction for low-income families to 20,000 units this year and to terminate the program after that. It has virtually ignored the housing needs of workers and other middle-income families. Judging from their actions, the Congressmen who have voted to kill needed housing programs must have the idea that the housing shortage is over.

But 10,000 persons who recently descended on a New York department store to purchase apartments in a new cooperative development, which was not yet even under construction, are apparently very much aware that there is still a housing shortage.

As the *New York Times* put it:

"What started out to be an experiment in a new kind of real estate merchandising had turned out before noon to be a dramatic demonstration of the amount of unsatisfied demand for housing. It was a demonstration that came coincidentally with a report by the Real Estate Board of New York that a survey of 1,170 Manhattan tenements had revealed only twenty-seven vacant units."

New York is not the only city where there is still a housing shortage. We still have a large backlog of housing need in most parts of the country, and there is a particular need for good houses within the financial means of low- and middle-income families.

As a matter of fundamental justice, the federal government has a responsibility to encourage the building of homes that these families can afford. Moreover, only by broadening the housing market can we be sure that a high-level housing industry will play its full role in helping to sustain a high-level economy.

The available information indicates conclusively that, in spite of the relatively high volume of residential construction in recent years, new home-building has not kept up with housing needs. Here are some of the pertinent facts:

(1) *We are not building enough*



By **BERT SEIDMAN**
A. F. of L. Staff Economist

houses. According to a study by the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor, we must build at least 12,500,000 new non-farm homes and apartments by the end of 1959 if we are to meet the nation's housing needs. This requires construction of over 2,000,000 units a year. Yet the all-time peak in housing construction was set in 1950 when only 1,400,000 units were built. During the period 1951-1953, residential building has averaged only 1,100,000 units annually.

(2) *The houses we are building are inadequate for family living requirements.* Last year the typical new house insured by the Federal Housing Administration had an area of 920 square feet. A house of this size is *much too small* for a family of four, according to the findings of the Committee on Hygiene of the American Public Health Association. Judged by these standards, the houses now being built are inadequate for most families with children, even though most of them are obviously intended for, and are purchased by, such families. It is no wonder that a survey of recent home purchasers found that a substantial number of them were dissatisfied with the number and size of rooms, lack of dining space and inadequate storage facilities.

(3) *The houses that are being built cost too much for most families.* The average price of new FHA homes last year was \$10,000, and the average annual income of the purchaser of these homes was \$4800. A factory worker employed for a full 52 weeks would have averaged only about \$3500, or approximately one-fourth less than the average annual income of the FHA home purchasers. Of course, many factory workers and most workers employed in service and trade industries earn considerably less than this average. Thus the FHA program is meeting the needs only of families with incomes considerably above the average.

(4) *We face a real danger of a housing activity decline.* This year, for the first time since 1939 (except for the war years), there was an April-to-June downturn in the number of new houses started. While this was in part due to unfavorable weather conditions, it should provide a warning that unless effective action is taken, we may be in for a real cutback in housing construction. The decline in housing activity has followed predictions by spokesmen for real estate and mortgage banking interests that housing activity would expand in response to the increased interest rates which have recently been put into effect for government-guaranteed mortgages under the FHA and VA programs. The increase in mortgage interest rates followed an increase in interest rates on government borrowing.

Just before the rise in housing interest rates was announced, a *Wall Street Journal* headline said: "Big Lenders Prepare to Unleash Loan Flood If U.S. Rates Rise." Actually, the increase in interest rates has not had the predicted effect. On the contrary, large lending institutions have displayed no enthusiasm whatsoever about making mortgage funds available for home purchasers. Moreover, from the viewpoint of the long-run effects, the increase in interest rates has added to the already high costs prospective home purchasers must

face. The higher costs of home ownership will make it even more difficult for middle-income families to buy new homes. This could very well reduce the market for new homes and the volume of home building.

The minimum steps for a fundamental attack on the nation's housing problems were outlined in a statement issued by the A. F. of L. Executive Council at its May meeting and further elaborated at its meeting this month. [See Page 6.] It is a program which the A. F. of L. has advocated for many years to provide necessary housing for low- and middle-income families.

There is still only one solution of the housing problems of low-income families. That is low-rent public

housing. Four years ago Congress authorized construction each year of 135,000 units of low-rent public housing, but in riders to appropriation bills Congress severely limited the number of houses that could actually be built. This year Congress set a limit of 20,000 on the number of low-rent units that can be constructed during the coming year and directed that the program be liquidated.

The Executive Council has also called for the passage of legislation and the adoption of administrative policies "encouraging construction of homes for workers and other middle-income families at selling prices and rents they can afford to pay." Congress was urged to assure reasonable interest and financing charges on pri-

vately built houses and to provide long-term, low-interest loans to cooperative and non-profit groups for construction of homes within the means of moderate-income families.

In the main, Congress failed to act on the recommendations of the American Federation of Labor. That means we still have a job to do on the housing front.

When Congress reconvenes, labor must be prepared to work with renewed vigor for forward-looking housing policies and programs. They must be policies and programs which will assure good homes to all families, encourage development of well-planned communities, and thus contribute to a high level of employment and a stable economy.

No Substitute for Auxiliaries

By ANNA R. KELSEY

THREE ARE organizations and organizations in this fair land of ours. Most of them are for the betterment of mankind in one way or another. Some, however, are just for the benefit of a few.

In the world of labor we have several organizations working toward the same goal, but in the housewife's field there is really only one organization that answers all her needs, and that organization is the women's auxiliary to her husband's union.

In the women's auxiliary the wife of a union man learns the why and wherefore of the necessity of her husband's belonging to a union, what it means to her and her family, why she should understand unionism, how she may help her husband keep it strong and in working order, what her own duties are to the union, why unions and auxiliaries should cooperate.

In the auxiliary she works with other women whose interests are the same as hers. She makes friends who can assist her and whom she can assist in their daily efforts to create a better world.

After learning about unionism and what she may do to make unions strong, the auxiliary member learns about civic affairs in her own city and state, including the needs of the schools her own children attend.

Through her membership in the auxiliary, the union man's wife frequently has contact with various women's clubs, and while attending meetings of these clubs she will have opportunities to help her husband's union. She can explain the principles of trade unionism to the club members and tell them why working people believe so firmly in their unions. She can create a better understanding of unionism among these women.

Membership in a union auxiliary makes a wife a better partner for her husband, as she will be able to talk with him intelligently about his union instead of just sitting wide-eyed and saying, "It's too hard for me to understand," as we've heard many union wives say.

There are a great number of women's organizations nowadays which are very active in securing membership, and many of them have lots of money to spend in different ways to entice membership.

Many agencies controlled by big business have set up programs to offer to clubs which are cleverly made up and do create a great deal of interest. They place before the women's clubs outlines for programs and skits and even lend motion picture films for the main purpose of indoctrinating women with ideas for the benefit of

big business. Some are designed to plant such ideas in women's minds as that unionism is not for the good of working people or that it tends to take away free thinking and free action.

It is imperative for the best interests of all working people that the housewife become acquainted with the wiles of these organizations, so that she will not be duped and thereby be a traitor to her own husband and family, although perhaps a most unwitting one.

The housewife is the most important factor known when it comes to purchasing commodities for the home. As such she should be acquainted with the names, union labels and manufacturers of the goods she is buying. Membership in an auxiliary gives her this information and gives her the courage to ask for union-labeled merchandise.

Women who do not understand the reason for union labels do not ask for them, nor do they as a rule realize the importance of their husband's affiliation with a union.

Now is the time when more women's auxiliaries should be organized and given the information and assistance which they need to make them function properly. There is no substitute for a good union auxiliary.

The FREE Labor Movement: Torch of Hope for Oppressed

By ADOLPH HELD
Chairman, Jewish Labor Committee

WHEN the full record of the battle for human freedom is written, the uncompromising fight waged by the free labor movement for liberty and justice will stand out. Its achievements are best illustrated by two episodes in which the free labor movement and the Jewish Labor Committee collaborated.

The recent heroic battle against Soviet enslavement in East Germany could not have been fought had not the free labor movement responded in the early 1930s to the cries for rescue from the democratic leaders of the German labor movement. The Jewish Labor Committee was the instrument of the free labor movement in rescuing thousands of German as well as Dutch, Polish, Scandinavian, French, Italian and Jewish labor leaders from the clutches of Hitlerism.

Many of the labor leaders who today chart the course of attack against Soviet enslavement abroad are those whom the free labor movement saved and nourished so that they might return to lead stronger and more successful battles against totalitarianism. More than half have returned to their native soil and have been elected to high posts in both national and local governments. This is indeed a record of which free labor can be justly proud.

THE second episode is deeply steeped in the tragedy of those who were completely annihilated or whose shredded lives had to be re-woven. It is the heroic story of free labor and is not only concerned with economic justice but with moral justice as well.

A promise by William Green in 1933, when he eloquently stated that organized labor in Europe, itself

threatened and cursed by Hitlerism, would rise stronger than ever and pave the way for restitution for those who suffered the heavy lashes of the Nazi dictator, has been kept.

Jews throughout the world know that when the words of bigots become acts of violence or discrimination, free labor helps forge the weapons of counterattack. This is true of the present fight to save the Jews who are persecuted behind the Iron Curtain as they were in Germany under Hitler. It was reflected in the determination of the free labor movement of Europe when last year negotiations opened between the West German Republic, the State of Israel and the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany. From every quarter of the free labor movement came the united demand:

"Meet the just claims of Hitler's first victims!"

On September 10, 1952, the representatives of the State of Israel, the West German Republic and the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany met in Luxembourg to sign an agreement under which the West German Republic pledged to pay \$107,000,000 to aid the victims of Nazism now living outside Israel and \$715,000,000 directly to Israel for resettling those victims in the new state.

The agreements reached were in no way an absolution of the crimes committed against Jewish people by the Hitler regime. Settlement of material claims does not cancel the Nazi-inflicted deaths of millions of Jews and non-Jews. Those losses can never be computed in financial terms.

In retrospect, as one who participated in the negotiations representing Jewish labor, I can testify that were it not for the buttressing

by the leaders of the free European labor movement, it is doubtful whether the negotiations would have been successful.

The German labor movement was under a constant barrage at home from the neo-Nazis and more conservative political elements and from the Communists. These groups had found common cause in opposition to the reparation demands. Because of these internal frictions, the political atmosphere was analogous to standing on an eroded cliff which was in danger of falling away. Any overt declaration which was to be made favoring the meeting of Jewish demands would cause stronger political forces to attempt to find a solution with all of the ingredients of diplomacy and compromise.

THE free labor movement of Western Germany did not falter, did not renege, did not strategically retreat or even succumb to the prevalent political climate within their own country. Inspired by messages of support from their brothers and sisters of the free world labor movement, they created an atmosphere within their own country which resulted in the ratification of the Bonn-Israeli reparations pact on March 18, 1953.

It was, as a matter of historic fact, the free German labor movement, utilizing its electoral strength in the West German Bundestag, which gave the balance-of-power votes to assure ratification. The government parties could not muster sufficient votes to achieve ratification because of internal differences. The Social Democrats, representing the free labor movement of West Germany, voted in unison for ratification.

When one begins negotiations with

the governmental heirs of those who have inflicted injustices and participated in acts of genocide against a people, the approach must be sown with caution. These negotiations were no different. The proper site had to be sought so that the arena of discussion would be on neutral territory. The records had to be marshaled, the facts sifted for possible deterrents to a successful negotiation. The internal atmosphere within Germany itself had to be surveyed.

It was a speech by Chancellor Adenauer, after a succession of demands by free German labor to support Jewish reparations claims, which helped spark the negotiations.

The demands were drawn up. They were not excessive nor made with malice. The claims of individuals had to be reviewed. There were the losses of goods, money or property. The claims of the State of Israel, which spent millions of dollars in resettlement costs for victims of the Nazis, the losses of individuals, organizations and institutions—all of these had to be computed so that the claims would have a firm base and could not be successfully challenged.

The State of Israel put in a claim against West Germany for one billion dollars and against East Germany for five hundred million dollars. The latter demand has been consistently rejected by East German authorities. The claims of individuals showed losses of damage or loss of goods or property in the amount of six hundred million dollars. Thirdly, there were the heirless property demands of five hundred million dollars which had to be considered. These were the original demands made.

Just as those demands were, there still were objections from many quarters within Germany. I met with the late Kurt Schumacher, Fritz Heine, Eric Olenhauer and other German labor leaders. I found sympathy for the demands—never doubts.

I learned later that free German labor declarations in favor of Jewish claims had made a profound impression on the British, French and Belgian leaders with whom I had met. So impressed were they that their political instruments were marshaled behind the demands, and it was not strange to hear British Laborite Lord Henderson get assurances

from Foreign Office spokesmen that the British government itself would encourage successful negotiations on Jewish material claims. Nor was it strange to hear similar demands from labor spokesmen in the parliaments of other Western democracies addressed to their respective governments.

There were moments when negotiations broke down. The outlook was bleak. Although no time limit had been set, it was obvious to all participants that such breakdowns in negotiations were intolerable and could only result in failure. As insurmountable as the obstacles appeared, there was always one powerful force that prevented a full breakdown—the free labor movement.

Through the able assistance of Irving Brown, American Federation of Labor representative in Europe, I was able to present the facts to European labor leaders. The issue was kept alive.

The free labor press kept needling those West German government leaders who had tried to pause too long, hoping to destroy the further will to negotiate.

The stalemates were always broken because the free European labor movement had felt that mere resolutions of support were not enough. None of the leaders of the free European labor movement would be satisfied until the just demands were met.

FULL public debate in the United Nations General Assembly on the recent U.N. report which found Communist Russia guilty of using slave labor on a gigantic scale has been formally requested by the United States.

United Nations members received the 621-page report on June 23. It was drawn up by the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labor after fifty-nine meetings at which hundreds of pounds of documents were examined and the stories of hundreds of witnesses were heard. The witnesses included former inmates of Soviet slave labor camps.

Russia, like other countries, was offered an opportunity by the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labor to comment on the charges and the committee's findings. Characteristically, the

There would be no compromise shown. Defeatism was not a term in labor's dictionary.

Through the efforts of the free European labor movement, the cultural institutions, the libraries, the universities, the seminaries, the buildings that had been appropriated by the Nazis or whose personnel had been liquidated would, once again, be revitalized as a result of the agreements reached. The lives of those who had been saved would get a new spark of hope. Israel would be aided by the agreement reached.

Achievements take time, guts, initiative, sweat. The negotiations produced all of these necessary ingredients. But the inspiration when the hours looked darkest, the powerful drive of incentive transmitted to the hesitant forces within Germany, the urge to see justice done came from the free labor movement.

Whenever a just cause arises, the free trade union movement helps it. The persecution of the Jewish peoples, whether at the hands of the Nazi butchers or by the Kremlin masters, has always found the voice of free labor crying out the loudest in protest.

It is in gratitude, therefore, that the Jewish Labor Committee presents this modest bouquet to the free labor movement for the fraternal handclasp it has extended to the oppressed and downtrodden.

U. S. Asks Slavery Debate

Moscow government responded that it "herewith returns, unexamined, the documents * * * since these documents contain slanderous fabrications concerning the Soviet Union."

The slave labor investigation was launched as a result of the initiative of the American Federation of Labor. Acting through Vice-Presidents Matthew Woll and David Dubinsky, the A. F. of L. filed slavery charges and evidence with the United Nations years ago. More recently the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions had also urged an investigation of forced labor.

The article "Guilty As Charged," by Ralph Wright of the International Labor Organization, in the July issue of *THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST*, deals with the report of the Ad Hoc Committee at some length.

EDITORIALS

by George Meany

Congress Falls Down

ANY WORKINGMAN would be fired summarily for the kind of job done by the first session of the Eighty-third Congress. It quit with its work scarcely half completed. To make matters worse, the little that was accomplished must be classified, even by an impartial judge, as more destructive than constructive.

As an institution, Congress is the backbone of our democratic form of government in America and deserves the highest respect. But in recent years Congress itself has done more to undermine its good standing with the American people than any of its detractors. Thus far, the Eighty-third Congress has followed the sorry pattern set by the Eightieth Congress, which was probably the worst in history.

Only in the field of foreign affairs did Congress come close to fulfilling its responsibilities. Even here, however, it practiced what may turn out to be false economy by making drastic cuts in the appropriations recommended by President Eisenhower for the Mutual Defense Program and by the Joint Chiefs of Staff for the National Defense Program.

In the field of domestic affairs, Congress really fell down on the job. Consider the facts:

(1) Congress voted to give away the tremendously valuable submerged oil lands to the coastal states for exploitation by private petroleum and natural gas interests. At the same time, it voted to liquidate the public housing program, thus ending hopes for wiping out slum areas where the lowest-income families are forced to live. It also voted to end rent controls, thereby exposing millions of low- and middle-income families to the danger of unjustified rent increases.

(2) Congress failed to act on revision of the Taft-Hartley Law. It failed to act on improvement of the social security system. It failed to make a perceptible move on the grave problem of health legislation. It did nothing on the protection of civil rights for minority groups. It postponed consideration of the pressing farm price problem, which affects not only the farmers but the living costs of every workingman's family. Obviously, the disinterest of Congress toward the welfare of the great masses of the American people was matched only by its apparent concern for the relief of big business.

(3) By its control of the purse-strings, Congress attempted to wreck enforcement of laws protecting labor which it did not dare openly to repeal. The heavy cuts in the appropriations voted for the Department of Labor, already the smallest in

the federal government, were wholly unjustified.

In the final analysis the responsibility for the record of Congress rests upon the voters rather than upon the members of Congress themselves. Unless and until the people of this country pay more attention to the work of their Congressmen and Senators, we will continue to get misrepresentation instead of good government.

I cannot urge the members of the American Federation of Labor and their friends too strongly to get ready now for the 1954 Congressional elections. Study the reports of Labor's League for Political Education on the voting records of your Congressmen and Senators and make certain to vote next year for candidates who put the interests of the people ahead of the interests of entrenched wealth.

Against Tyranny

IT TAKES a trade unionist to appreciate fully the combined courage and desperation which have impelled the unarmed and defenseless workers of Eastern Europe to carry on the gallant resistance against Communist oppression, backed by tanks, troops and machine guns, which began with the heroic June 17 uprising in East Berlin.

Even the pioneers of our own movement, who gave their lives on the picket lines in the struggle for recognition and independence against company thugs, court injunctions and hostile police, never had to cope with the tremendous odds faced by the hungry millions of captives behind the Iron Curtain who are conducting one of the greatest strikes in history today.

The free American labor movement is not going to sit this one out. We cannot remain deaf to the mute appeals of these brave men and women overseas who are struggling for bread and freedom. We must accord them not only our sympathy and our admiration but whatever tangible relief and assistance circumstances permit.

It is for this purpose that the American Federation of Labor, together with the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the United Mine Work-

ers of America, is contributing to an international relief fund for the victims of the Communist oppressors. We are confident that affiliated national and international unions will also want to do their bit for this great cause. The money thus raised will be distributed by the West German Trade Union Federation (D.G.B.) where it will do the most good.

History shows that when great masses of workers rebel against tyranny, their cause can never be suppressed by force but must ultimately triumph.

Already the captive workers in Eastern Germany and Eastern Europe have scored one notable victory by destroying for all time the cruel myth that life behind the Iron Curtain is a workers' paradise.

Our Convention Nears

IT WON'T be long now before the seventy-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor convenes in St. Louis. When the delegates gather for the opening session on September 21, they will be confronted by many problems, national and international, problems concerning labor's internal affairs and problems growing out of its relations with the rest of the world.

Any attempt to forecast the convention's decisions would be idle and hazardous. But this much is certain: no big issue will be evaded by the convention. The American Federation of Labor is one organization which believes in facing up to the facts and expressing its opinions and convictions freely. Each issue will be debated out in the open and nothing will be suppressed.

Only a strong organization can afford such frankness and, without boasting, it can be reported that the American Federation of Labor is far stronger today than ever before in its history.

The members of the American Federation of Labor can take pride in the progress achieved through their collective efforts and they can also be proud of the free and democratic way in which their annual conventions are conducted.

LABOR IN PAKISTAN

By C. P. DAVE

THE labor movement of Pakistan took its rightful place among the world's free trade unions in September of 1950. At that time the All-Pakistan Confederation of Labor, at its first convention, voted unanimously to join the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. By this action the Pakistan labor movement took its place among the world's free trade unions and ended the first stage in its development.

Since Pakistan once formed a part of undivided India, the background of Pakistan's labor movement was like India's. As is well known, the organized labor movement was a comparative late-comer in India. This was probably due to the fact that the country was in an undeveloped state insofar as industrialization was concerned. In addition, agriculture was—and still is—primitive.

It is, of course, true that undivided India was a founder member of the International Labor Organization. But at that time the labor movement of India was—to put it frankly—in the pockets of certain professional politicians. In the Twenties, however, genuine trade unionists—led by the veteran labor leader N. M. Joshi and our own late M. A. Khan—came slowly to the front. They joined with others of various shades of political opinion, in the Thirties, to form the All-India Trade Union Congress.

When World War II began, the Communists, who had come to have a leading position in the All-India Trade Union Congress, lost no time in dubbing it an "imperialist" war. The sensible labor leaders, who were conscious of the true state of affairs, disagreed with this line dictated from Moscow.

In November of 1941 the Indian Federation of Labor was formed by the free trade unionists. After Russia was attacked by Hitler, the Communists turned a complete somersault. Now they called the war a people's war. Strangely enough, their All-India Trade Union Congress still did not officially support the war, while the free and independent Indian Federation of Labor supported World

War II with all the resources at its command. After the end of the war, the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was divided into two countries, India and Pakistan.

The workers rejoiced on hearing of the birth of Pakistan for which they had sacrificed so much without flinching and for which their contribution had been by far the largest. In 1947 the labor unions in Pakistan formed the Pakistan Federation of Labor, with the late M. A. Khan as president and M. A. Khatib as general secretary.

Fortunately, the Communist-led All-India Trade Union Congress had practically no hold in the territories comprising Western Pakistan.

In the beginning the Pakistan Federation of Labor embraced twenty-two unions previously affiliated with the Indian Federation of Labor. These unions had a total membership of over 50,000 organized workers in all types of undertakings throughout Pakistan.

Due to disturbed conditions in the interior, particularly in the Punjab, it would not have been surprising if progress in building up Pakistan's labor movement had been slowed down to a considerable extent, but as a matter of fact growth has been not only rapid but on sound lines. This has been a great achievement, particularly when the workers were suffering untold miseries and were faced with almost unsurmountable difficulties. It is to the eternal credit of Pakistani workers that they not only survived but also organized themselves to safeguard their just rights.

The Federation's leaders, led by the late Mr. Khan, belonged to the free and independent trade unionist group

from the Indian Federation of Labor. This in itself was a great source of strength to the new-born state of Pakistan. Keeping in view the difficulties facing the nation, organized labor cooperated with the government in this period of stress and strain.

In 1947 the Eastern Pakistan Trade Union Federation was formed, with Dr. A. M. Malik as president and Brother Faiz Ahmad as general secretary. This Federation consisted of those unions which were previously affiliated with the All-India Trade Union Congress in the East Pakistan area.

After attending the conference of Asian Communists in Calcutta, the Politburo of the Pakistani Communist Party reached Lahore in February of 1948. The Pakistani Communist leaders had express instructions to manufacture, among other things, a trade union organization. In March of 1948 a paper organization called the West Pakistan Trade Union Organization was formed in Lahore. Long afterward, this organization still had no membership outside the city limits of Lahore.

Pakistan is primarily an agricultural country, with its entire economy based on agriculture. The organization of agricultural workers is progressing.

At the end of 1947 the maritime workers were brought under the banner of the Pakistan Maritime Federation, with Brother M. A. Khatib as president and the writer as general secretary.

The first industrial tribunal in Pakistan was established for the port and dock workers in March of 1948. The tribunal gave its first award in May of that year. The award meant, among other things, an increase in daily wage rates. In June, 1948, the first conciliation board was constituted by the government of Pakistan. Brother M. A. Khatib represented the native jetties workers on it. The board handed down its award, bringing increased pay scales for the jetties workers, the following month.

In October of 1948 the government of Pakistan (*Continued on Page 24*)

Join L.L.P.E.
today

The Largest Voluntary Organization

By ALBERT S. EPSTEIN

Economist, International Association of Machinists

NO photographer has ever managed to take a group picture of the American Federation of Labor in its entirety. There is no map to which we can point and say, "This is the A. F. of L." It is not the American Federation of Labor Building in Washington, D. C. Although Samuel Gompers came closest to being "Mr. A. F. of L." even he was not the equivalent of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. speaks for it, but is not *it*. A thousand delegates at an A. F. of L. convention represent but are not the same as the 9,500,000* working men and women who are the A. F. of L.

Neither words nor figures are adequate to tell the full story of the American Federation of Labor. But we can make an effort to trace, in figures, a rough outline of this colossus. We must find the proper perspective for observing it. Figures offer a convenient, though inadequate, medium for some clues as to the nature and magnitude of the *largest voluntary organization in the United States*.

You may be surprised at this statement as the writer was when he first thought of it. By the term "voluntary" we simply mean that one is not born a member of the A. F. of L. as one is born a Baptist, Catholic, Jew or Greek Orthodox or into any other religious denomination. Moreover, in a census of religious bodies, whole families are counted. In the case of a member of an A. F. of L.

union, he is usually an adult (except child prodigies who might join one of the several unions in the amusement field) who must take steps *personally* to file application for membership. Within this definition, there is no organization in the United States that comes anywhere close to the A. F. of L. in membership.

The American Federation of Labor is, of course, a *federation of unions*, not a membership organization. To find the grass roots of the A. F. of L., we must go to the 50,000 locals of its 109 national and international unions. Among these unions will be found the Teamsters Union with more than a million members and the tiny International Association of Siderographers with forty-eight members. This small union is one of ten unions in the A. F. of L. having a membership of less than 1,000, a fact that is often forgotten at a time when it has become fashionable to speak of "big labor."

It should be noted that sixty-six of the 109 international unions in the American Federation of Labor have less than 50,000 members. Eighteen have 50,000 but less than 100,000 members; twenty-one number 100,000 but less than 500,000. Only three unions have between 500,000 and 1,000,000. Finally, as already indicated, one union has over 1,000,000 members.

MEMBERS of the American Federation of Labor feed, clothe and house the American people. Within its ranks are to be found the proverbial butcher, baker and candlestick maker in modern industrial setting. But it is a mistake to believe that modern industry consists primarily of factories which employ the bulk of the American workers. The facts are quite the opposite. Manufacturing industries employ one-third (16,000,000) of the total number (48,000,000) of non-agricultural workers in the United States, and of the 16,000,000 employees in manufacturing only a fraction can be de-

scribed as being in the so-called mass-production industries. Although there are no accurate figures available, there can be no doubt that the A. F. of L.'s membership falls in the ratio of two members in non-manufacturing industries to one in manufacturing, the same proportion as is to be found in American industry as a whole.

Our belief is bolstered by the report on trade union membership recently released by the California Department of Industrial Relations. California has a trade union membership of 1,500,000, mostly A. F. of L. (Of 3,335 union locals, 2,679 are A. F. of L., only 279 C.I.O.) Union membership in California is to be found chiefly in non-manufacturing industries—transportation, construction, service, entertainment and government. Only one-third of the California union membership consists of factory workers.

The distribution of the membership in non-manufacturing is so revealing that it is worth reproducing here:

Industry	Members
Construction	269,800
Transportation and warehousing	192,800
Public utilities	60,000
Trade, wholesale and retail	165,600
Eating and drinking places, hotels and other lodging places.	90,200
Motion picture production and distribution, theater and other entertainment	76,500
Miscellaneous services	87,000
Government	56,000
Agriculture, fishing and mineral extraction...	11,700
<i>Total non-manufacturing</i>	<i>1,009,800</i>

Thus, the makeup of the A. F. of L. appears to parallel the composition of American industry as a whole.

There is also the widespread fiction that the American Federation of Labor con- (Continued on Page 27)

*The 9,500,000 figure is given in "Directory of Labor Unions in the United States, 1953," published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Readers of THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST must be familiar with the figure, 8,098,302, used in last year's Report of the Executive Council. This was based on actual per capita tax received at American Federation of Labor headquarters in Washington from the affiliated unions. The B.L.S., in "Directory of Labor Unions in the United States, 1953," explains the basis for its computation as follows:

"The use of per capita payments apparently understates American Federation of Labor membership. Ninety-three A. F. of L. unions reported their average dues-paying membership for 1951 on the Bureau of Labor Statistics questionnaire used in the preparation of this Directory. By combining these reports with the 1951 A. F. of L. per capita data for the remaining sixteen unions and the A. F. of L. directly affiliated federal labor unions, it would appear that total A. F. of L. membership is approximately 9,500,000."

American Labor's Great Holiday

NEXT month the nation will observe once again a holiday which is different from all others—Labor Day. It will then be seventy-one years and four months since the original idea of a national Labor Day was placed before a meeting of the newly formed Central Labor Union of New York City and quickly embraced by the delegates present.

The man who offered the proposal—that one day in the year should be set aside in honor of American labor—was a carpenter named Peter J. McGuire. He was in his middle thirties, a native New Yorker and a union man since the age of twenty.

Peter McGuire, a founder of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, was a man brimming with ideas and not afraid to stand up and talk about them. So on the eighth day of May, in the year 1882, he rose at the meeting of the Central Labor Union. One day each year, he suggested, should be designated as a national holiday to honor "those who from rude nature have delved and carved all the comfort and grandeur we behold." The logical name for such a holiday, he said, would be "Labor Day." And Peter McGuire told his fellow-delegates that in his opinion the holiday ought to occur on the first Monday in September,

which would be approximately halfway between the Fourth of July and Thanksgiving Day.

There was great enthusiasm for the idea, and a committee was quickly appointed. Its job was to prepare for the first celebration of Labor Day in the United States. The committee worked hard, and unions throughout the big city cooperated with it. Days and weeks went by swiftly, and soon it was September 5—the first Monday in September.

It was a beautiful day, pleasantly warm, with blue skies and a gentle breeze. And on that day, with loud

bands and bright banners, the trade unionists of New York paraded proudly. They paraded up Broadway and they paraded up Fifth Avenue.

That evening a great outdoor celebration was held. The crowd was swelled by workers who had not been able to join the parade. It was a gay occasion, festive, merry. And all who were present were aware of the importance of the day's and evening's events.

That was how Labor Day was observed for the first time in history. It was only a local holiday then. Now it is celebrated across the nation.



On Labor Day the people pause to honor the toilers of a free land

WE MUST VOTE

By W. L. ALLEN
President, Commercial Telegraphers Union

THE only way for labor to be really effective on the political front is to elect more friends to Congress and at the same time defeat as many as possible of the reactionary members whose only reason for being there is to look after the interests of anti-union groups who consistently seek to destroy organized labor.

We need more friends of labor in Congress who will work for a square

deal for labor. We ask no more. We have a right to expect no less.

Unfortunately, education of wage-earners along political lines is a slow process. For that reason the Taft-Hartley Law is still with us.

Collective bargaining is no longer confined to the bargaining table. It has been extended into the political field through the adoption of anti-labor legislation which interferes with and restricts collective bargaining.

This fact has been brought home to many labor organizations through the bitter experience of negotiating benefits at the bargaining table only to find later that they can be wiped out by anti-labor legislation. Obviously, if labor is to continue to enjoy the benefits of organization and free collective bargaining, we must get rid of anti-labor legislation.

Wage-earners must exercise their right to vote. Labor's League for Political Education is doing the important educational work of impressing wage-earners with the importance of registering and voting in all elections.

The work of Labor's League should be fully supported by every member of the American Federation of Labor. It must have that kind of support if L.L.P.E. is to be successful in the purpose for which it was established.

TVA Has Been Good for the People's Health

PEOPLE are the most important resources of a region. The Tennessee Valley Authority, as a resource development agency, has been concerned with the health of the people in the Tennessee Valley.

Malaria control, stream sanitation, public health at construction sites and the health and safety of all its employees have all been part of TVA's responsibility for twenty years.

Before TVA, malaria in the Tennessee Valley, and especially in the Southern part of the area, was costing millions of dollars each year in loss of time and earning power and in health and life itself.

In filling its big reservoirs for flood control, navigation and power generation, TVA added many acres of water surface where malaria-transmitting mosquitoes could breed. The building of dams changed the streams from swiftly moving water to slack-water lakes with 10,000 miles of shoreline, in whose shallow waters the malaria mosquito found ideal breeding situations. There had never before been the problem of malaria control on such a large expanse of slowly moving water in a region where that disease had long been a serious menace.

TVA had to face this problem squarely, for it had been proved that, unless preventive measures were taken, malaria would increase when waters in the Southeast were dammed up. TVA had to discover exactly how big the problem was. So in 1934 a house-to-house survey was made in North Alabama, where one of the first dams was being built. Blood samples were taken and tested. It was found that 30 per cent of the people had malaria. Here was both a problem and a duty.

With the help and cooperation of leading malaria specialists of the country, the U.S. Public Health Service and the Valley state health agencies, the Tennessee Valley Authority has worked steadily to prevent and control malaria in the area.

In order to find effective and economical control methods, a laboratory was established at Wilson Dam, Alabama, with a staff of biologists, sanitary engineers and malaria special-

ists. A research arrangement was made with the University of Tennessee's College of Medicine for its faculty to study the medical aspects of malaria.

As TVA's malaria control and research program progressed, the new knowledge acquired was used in the design of the big reservoirs to "build out" of the lakes the mosquitoes' breeding places. Reservoir by reservoir, as the size of the control problem increased, the Tennessee Valley Authority made headway in improving old methods, finding new ones and reducing unit costs.

By 1949 and 1950 no malaria was found in selected areas around the most likely breeding places in TVA reservoirs. In 1951 not a single case of malaria of local origin was found.

Malaria in the Tennessee Valley has been reduced almost to the point of disappearance. However, TVA continues on the alert, still carrying on its preventive work.

At TVA's construction sites there must be water, milk and food supplies as well as sewage disposal facilities for the employees living in the construction villages. But since TVA has authority only on property which it owns, sanitation of nearby eating places and the control of communica-

ble diseases must be handled by local health organizations. The Tennessee Valley Authority has joined with these official health agencies in working out ways of providing improved public health services for a whole locality. Benefits to the community continue long after TVA construction is completed.

The Tennessee Valley Authority operates thirty water treatment plants. Each year millions of visitors drink the water and use the sanitary accommodations at these places. TVA holds itself responsible for the protection of the health of these visitors as well as its employees.

Medical examinations, immunizations, health education, accident prevention, control of occupational hazards to health, treatment and rehabilitation of the industrially disabled worker are all included in TVA's health and safety program for its employees.

Workers on TVA construction jobs increased in numbers as the Tennessee Valley Authority expanded, but its safety record constantly improved. The success of its well-organized safety program is shown in the great reduction in the number and severity of injuries during TVA's twenty years of operation.

Workers Attend School

THE 1953 Kentucky Labor School closed July 24 after two weeks of concentrated study. In attendance were 107 students—ninety-two from the United States (Kentucky, Ohio, Alabama, West Virginia, Virginia, Indiana and North Carolina were represented) and fifteen from abroad (Burma, Italy, Sweden and France).

Classes were held at the University of Kentucky, in Lexington, for the first time. Past attendance records were broken. The previous high mark was in 1950, when the Labor School was conducted at Morehead State College. Seventy-five students attended that year.

Sponsored by the Department of Research and Education of the Kentucky State Federation of Labor, the Labor School this year attracted representatives from nineteen A. F. of L.

international and national unions, one federal labor union and the Louisville Federation of Labor. The faculty was composed of thirteen teachers.

During the two weeks courses were given in collective bargaining, labor history, labor ethics, labor economics, public speaking, social and economic problems in the South, labor law, political science, union administration and taxation. Two workshops—in organization and parliamentary law—were offered to the students in the afternoon.

Three A. F. of L. representatives were speakers at the school. They were John Connors, director of the Workers' Education Bureau; Serafino Romualdi, A. F. of L. representative for Latin America, and Jesse Gallagher, a regional director of organization for the Federation.

Portugal and Labor-in-Africa

By L. ESTEVES FERNANDES
Portugal's Ambassador at Washington

Excerpts from an A. F. of L. seaman's letter which sharply criticized labor conditions in Portuguese West Africa were published by this magazine last February. Several months later the Portuguese Embassy in Washington filed objections and suggested that there was another side to the story. The February letter-writer, Roy Garrison, a union seafarer for almost two decades, had charged that the Portuguese in Africa were using "slave labor for dock work." Upon receipt of the Portuguese protest, THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST offered to make space available for a statement of "the other side" by Ambassador Esteves Fernandes. As is well known, the A. F. of L. is opposed to colonialism and evil labor conditions anywhere in the world.

THE so-called colonial powers, regardless of the particular conditions extant in specific territories under their control, are often criticized abroad by the same yardstick—that of the widely accepted concept that every European administration of African territories exists for the sole purpose of exploiting the natives—failing to point out, of course, that what they call "exploitation" brings, in most instances, expenses rather than profits to the governing country.

Such a yardstick, which creates a highly abstract standard of judgment unrelated to the nature of the facts to be appreciated, fails to take into consideration the basic premises without which no criteria are valid, to wit:

(1) The larger part of the continent known as Dark Africa is a slowly developing land where the peculiar conditions of climate, backwardness of native societies, absence of a determining culture or tradition, lack of native technology or enterprise, as well as distinct moral values, made it always somewhat absurd to evaluate the local scene according to a table of standards created for the Western societies by the upsurge of the industrial age.

(2) The European settlers who for centuries have been building living communities—the Portuguese case is one in point—where there were none, do have the right and the duty to direct the affairs of their communities according to the guiding principles of the mother-country and in harmony with the local trends, primary of which is the native participation in the progress of the land.

(3) Every European "colonizing" nation has a different approach and diverse methods of achieving the purpose outlined in the above paragraph, and even different interpretations of

the relationship between white settlers and natives. Therefore, the common yardstick—when studying the Portuguese, the Belgians, the French, the British, etc.—is very fallacious.

Yet, in this article, I am merely concerned with conditions pertaining to the Portuguese overseas territories. The Portuguese attitude toward the evolution of the native societies has been quite consistent from the beginning, and it has been singularly devoid of the violent conflicts and bloody tests witnessed elsewhere.

The first Portuguese laws for the protection of the natives date back to the Era of Discoveries. From them on to contemporary times, through the abolition of slavery to the present policy of complete integration of the natives into the national life, the guiding principle of the central government has been the same—tolerance in the sense of mutual understanding and acceptance.

The native was given the feeling of belonging to the nation, but he was also given the free choice of proceeding undisturbed with his tribal life or joining the Western society. To this end, segregation was abolished long ago, both morally and physically, creating a class unique in the African scene, the *assimilado* (literally, the assimilated).

The *assimilado* is a native, either Negro or mulatto, who chose the Western society instead of the tribal life of his ancestors; after acquiring a primary degree of education, he enjoys all the citizenship rights and privileges of the European Portuguese. He meets no segregation or barrier, either in school or in public places or in the social life of the community. In other words, he becomes a full-fledged equal, not only in the overseas provinces but also in Portugal proper.

His own personal merit alone will dictate how far the *assimilado* will rise in the social, professional or business life of the country. He gets no special privileges for being a Negro, but he finds no special obstacles either. His education facilities are exactly the same as the white man's, and he competes on an equal footing for the same jobs, either in the overseas provinces or in Portugal.

Not too long ago a native of the Portuguese overseas territories rose to one of the highest career positions of continental Portugal—that of Justice of the Supreme Court. Another one rose in civil service to become the Governor of Portuguese Guinea. And, more recently, a native of the Cape Verde Islands became a prominent Portuguese diplomat abroad.

But, above all, the native, either the *assimilado* or the tribal member, has long ceased to be an alien in his own land.

It is safe to say that over 90 per cent of the natives of the overseas provinces think of themselves as Portuguese, not as "natives."

There is a vital fact, seldom pondered by foreign critics, which could not be explained otherwise: Portugal maintains the scantiest military garrisons, almost entirely made up of native soldiers and native police, in her vast African provinces, and yet those territories have experienced none of the unrest so common in other parts of the same continent!

Paradoxically, some political extremists abroad, who advertise themselves as the great champions of the African peoples, reserve their virulent attacks for the Portuguese overseas administration, on the grounds that it is "undemocratic" and "paternalistic," lightly dismissing the fact that the Portuguese were perhaps the only Euro- (Continued on Page 31)

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►A statewide working agreement has been signed in Idaho by the A. F. of L. pipe trades and the Idaho Master Plumbers Association. The agreement, which standardizes wages, hours and working conditions for the pipe trades throughout the state, calls for a 40-hour week and a basic hourly rate of \$2.62½.

►Local 16, Chemical Workers, has negotiated a new one-year contract with the Monsanto Chemical Company for some 1,750 members employed at the company's John F. Queney Plant in St. Louis. Gains include a general increase and a night-shift bonus increase.

►Division 1079, Street and Electric Railway Employes, Arlington, Va., has secured a wage increase, with additional hikes to become effective in November and twelve months later. The increases were won on the Washington, Virginia and Maryland Coach Company.

►Local 315, Bakery Workers, has obtained pay raises of 14 to 16 cents an hour for employes of wholesale baking firms in San Diego, Calif., and the Imperial Valley. Employes with ten years of service will receive three weeks' vacation with pay.

►Local 25 of the Photo-Engravers, Des Moines, Iowa, has concluded a new commercial and newspaper agreement which raises wages \$5 weekly. The new contract provides two weeks' vacation with pay and six annual paid holidays.

►Local 474 of the Electrical Workers, Memphis, Tenn., has won an increase of 7½ cents an hour in cash and 7½ cents an hour in welfare. The welfare money will be put into a hospitalization fund.

►Local 415, Painters and Decorators, Olean, N. Y., has won a 12½-cent hourly wage increase in negotiations with the contractors.

►Local 61, Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers, has secured wage increases and improved holiday pay at the Carney Company, Inc., Mankato, Minn.

►Local 128, Metal Polishers, has won a 10-cent hourly increase across the board, thus ending a work stoppage at Schlage Lock, San Francisco, and fourteen smaller plants. The new agreement is to be extended to twenty-five other plants which were not affected by the stoppage.

►Local 109, A. F. of L. Auto Workers, has signed a new agreement with the Timken-Detroit Axle Company, Kenton, Ohio. Highlights of the pact are general wage increases, inequity adjustments and a liberalized health and accident insurance program, with the company now paying the entire cost.

►Local 238, Building Service Employes, has won increases of 15 to 30 cents an hour at the Todd Shipyards in Brooklyn, N. Y. The agreement sets new minimum wages and calls for eleven double-time holidays and a seven per cent night differential.

►The Molders and Foundry Workers, Local 176 in Minneapolis and Local 232 in St. Paul, have secured wage increases, health and welfare benefits, and increased vacation and holiday pay through negotiations with foundries in the two cities.

►Local 185 of the Meat Cutters, London, Ontario, in a new contract with the Coleman Packing Company, has obtained a 6.7 per cent wage increase. Increased health insurance payments were also won.

►Local 832, Retail Clerks, Winnipeg, Manitoba, has secured wage increases at C. & J. Jones, Ltd. The pact provides for eight statutory holidays, overtime and vacations and has other standard clauses.

►Opposition to a proposed transit-fare increase in Baltimore has been announced by the Baltimore Federation of Labor, the central labor union in the Maryland metropolis.

►Local 575, Plumbers and Steamfitters, Boulder, Colo., has negotiated contracts which provide a 15-cent hourly increase. With the hike, journeymen's pay is now \$2.80 an hour.

►Local 138 of the Printing Pressmen and Local 84 of the Typographical Union have signed contracts with the Fontana Herald Publishing Company, which issues the *Fontana Herald-News*, San Bernardino, Calif. The *Herald-News* becomes the first daily in the area to carry the union label.

►Local 1393, Retail Clerks, has negotiated a contract with American Stores in the Philadelphia area. The new pact establishes a \$59 minimum for a 40-hour week for full-time employes and calls for a 15-cent hourly increase for part-time workers.

►Local 1 of the Sheet Metal Workers, Peoria, Ill., has won a wage increase of 20 cents an hour. The new contract also provides three weeks of paid vacation for workers with fifteen or more years of service.

►Local 55 of the Distillery Workers, Peoria, Ill., has secured a 10-cent hourly wage increase in negotiations with Hiram Walker and Sons. The increase, which is retroactive, affects 1,150 workers.

►Local 30 of the Office Workers has signed an agreement with the Gladding, McBean Company at Los Angeles under which the starting rate is boosted and all employes receive a pay increase.

►Cheboygan County, Mich., Road Employes, Local 1488, has won a 15-cent hourly increase and an improved vacation plan. The Road Commission has agreed to pay \$2 per month for each man toward hospitalization.

►Local 136, Building Service Employes, Newark, N. J., has won a \$3 weekly wage boost and an increase in surgical benefits.

►The United Textile Workers have won an election held at the Barbet Mills, Lexington, N. C. The vote was 138 for the union to 91 against.

►Local 157, Ladies' Garment Workers, has negotiated a general wage increase and other contract improvements at Rainfair, Inc., Racine, Wis.

►Local 136, Retail Clerks, New York City, has won an hourly increase of 22 cents for employees of the Rose Zinc Top and Cabinet Company. Eight paid holidays and a company-paid health and welfare plan were among the fringe benefits secured.

►Local 1049, State, County and Municipal Employes, Upper Darby, Pa., has obtained a reduction in the work-week with no loss in pay, classification of all employees, thirty days of sick leave and many other benefits.

►Local 315, Brotherhood of Teamsters, recently signed up the S. & R. Tire Company at Richmond, Calif.

►Local 826, Plasterers and Cement Masons, Sheffield, Ala., has won an hourly wage increase of 25 cents. The new hourly rate for union plasterers is set at \$2.75 and that for cement masons is \$2.50.

►Local 38, Photo-Engravers, has organized the Superior Engraving Company, Dallas, Texas. The employer has signed an agreement with the union.

►Local 12, State, County and Municipal Employes, San Diego, Calif., has obtained wage increases of 5 to 15 per cent and fringe benefits in negotiations with the City Council.

►Local 89, Teamsters, has won wage increases for 135 members employed at the *Courier-Journal* and the *Louisville Times* in Louisville, Ky.

►The Hotel and Restaurant Employes have organized Chicago employes of the John R. Thompson restaurant chain.

►Local 320 of the Firemen and Oilers has won a pay increase at the Ohio Falls Dye and Finishing Works Company in Louisville, Ky.

►Local 89 of the Hod Carriers and Laborers has won increases of 11 to 14 cents an hour in all classifications.

Labor in Pakistan

(Continued from Page 18)

called a tripartite maritime conference to examine the conventions and recommendations of the I.L.O.'s Seattle conference of June, 1946. Brothers Faiz Ahmad, Khatib and the writer represented the seafarers. A number of recommendations were made by this conference, the main one being for the early establishment of a tripartite maritime board.

The Pakistan Federation of Labor completed a year of resounding progress at the end of 1948 with forty-one affiliated unions and a total membership exceeding 90,000. Brother Aftab Ali was elected to the Governing Body of the International Labor Organization as a workers' representative.

The first conference of the Pakistan Federation of Labor was convened in February, 1949. Nearly 300 delegates, representing sixty unions with a membership of 123,000 workers, took part in the deliberations under the chairmanship of the late M. A. Khan. The conference passed a number of important resolutions and created the required awakening in the country's working class in respect of the grave problems facing it.

The Pakistan Federation of Labor was represented by a full four-man delegation to the meeting of the Preparatory Committee of the Asian Federation of Labor, held in Indore (India) in May, 1949.

The port and dock workers of Karachi went out on a general strike in June, 1949, and secured a general wage increase of 10 per cent.

In a democratic election for the

presidency of the biggest trade union in Karachi, the Communists and their fellow-travelers were hopelessly defeated by the free and independent trade unionists. This historic election clearly showed that the working class in Pakistan had no faith in the reactionary Communist leadership. Brother Khatib was elected the president of this Karachi Port Trust Labor Union by an overwhelming majority.

In December of 1949 the labor movement in Pakistan was brought together on a single platform by the amalgamation of the Pakistan Federation of Labor with the All-Pakistan Trade Union Federation, the most representative labor organizations of West Pakistan and East Pakistan, respectively.

The government promptly recognized the All-Pakistan Confederation of Labor as the only representative workers' organization in the country and selected its nominees as the workers' delegate and the adviser to the First Asian Regional Conference of the International Labor Organization, held in Ceylon in January of 1950.

The first convention of the All-Pakistan Confederation of Labor opened on September 9, 1950, under the presidency of Hakim Abdulgafoor Sarhandi. Janab Dawood Haji Yusuf was the chairman of the Reception Committee of the conference, which was inaugurated by Dr. A. M. Malik. Nearly 750 delegates from all over Pakistan, representing 320,000 organized workers, participated in the deliberations.

The resolution to affiliate the All-

Pakistan Confederation of Labor with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions was moved by Brother Faiz Ahmad. Brother M. A. Khatib seconded the motion. The resolution was unanimously adopted by the convention.

THE organized workers of Pakistan are faced with many problems. It cannot be overemphasized that the nascent industrial development in Pakistan, as in other Asian countries, will depend directly upon the purchasing power of the peasants.

In the field of politics the lesson of recent history is forming a very clear pattern in the East. China, Burma, Indo-China and Korea show the way in which international communism is marching. The U.S.S.R. has directed its major effort to the winning of Asia for communism. It is therefore necessary that the free and independent workers' organizations in all countries unite to fight this modern tyranny of communism with the same militant force.

Pakistani trade union leaders must not only fight the economic battles of the working class but must also educate the workers and peasants on genuine democratic lines, so that they may be in a position to face the menace of international communism.

The battle against the modern reactionary force of communism may last long, but in the end the real progressive and democratic forces are bound to win. In Pakistan the democratic labor movement, the All-Pakistan Confederation of Labor, is doing its best to achieve the ideal of the greatest good for the greatest number in a free and democratic manner.

Excitement in West Germany

(Continued from Page 11)

voting records of our Congressmen and ask our trade union members to go to the polls and reward labor's friends and punish labor's enemies.

Chancellor Adenauer, however, looks upon the D.G.B.'s statement as support for the Socialist Party (S.P.D.), the leading opposition party to the present coalition government.

In press conferences, in public speeches and in radio interviews, he has stated that the D.G.B. proclamation is a clear violation of the D.G.B.'s political neutrality.

But Chancellor Adenauer goes even further. He calls upon Catholic workers to take note of this "breach of neutrality" and to reconsider their continued membership in the present unified trade union movement. In other words, Dr. Adenauer is suggesting a split in labor's ranks along religious lines such as exist in France, Belgium, Holland, Italy and Switzerland.

It is true that the Socialist Party members in the Bundestag did vote almost unanimously for all of the D.G.B.'s proposals. But some of Dr. Adenauer's C.D.U. members and a

few representatives of other parties also voted for labor's bills.

Nevertheless, there is an election campaign on. Dr. Adenauer's coalition government parties will spend \$7,000,000 to \$8,000,000 (30,000,000 to 35,000,000 marks) in their efforts to remain in office.

Most of this money, according to Christian Baer, vice-president of the German Voters Association, has already been raised by Germany's industry and business interests which favor the present government's economic policies.

Insofar as these industry and business interests have for the past three years tried to find means to weaken the strong German trade union movement, Chancellor Adenauer's suggestions for a split are made to order.

German industrialists and the conservative party politicians should seriously weigh the consequences of such a split. A division in the ranks of democratic labor can be beneficial only to the Communist forces, which up to now have played a very insignificant role in Western Germany's industrial life. The present situation in France and Italy should be a warning.

ing of what can happen in a country when the workers are not united in one democratic, anti-Communist trade union federation.

The Chancellor's remarks are even more unfortunate when one considers the heroic contribution of the Berlin section of the D.G.B. in keeping that city free from Soviet domination. In the face of unemployment affecting one-third of the city's working population, the West Berlin trade union movement has waged a relentless campaign of encouraging Berliners to carry on and to make all sacrifices for the cause of freedom.

The indomitable spirit of the West Berliners has been a source of inspiration to the workers of Soviet East Germany.

Russian tanks may still be able to crush an uprising of an oppressed people. But the world is being shown daily, through continued sitdown strikes and demonstrations, that the workers of East Germany do not intend to let themselves be smashed by the Communist heel. It is hoped that some day these workers will be able to unite with Western Germany's united D.G.B.

Some day such a federation may be the deciding factor in the success or failure of Communist Russia's drive to the West.

Labor in Red China

(Continued from Page 7)

lavish banquet to honor the delegates, the Soviet Union's "trade union delegation," the W.F.T.U. and visiting "trade union leaders."

Premier Chou En-lai welcomed the delegates and thanked them for their labors. Then Louis Saillant rose to speak in the name of the Cominform and the W.F.T.U. Finally Comrade I. V. Goroshkin, one of the Soviet "elder brothers" who have been telling the Chinese how to run their country, made a speech about the trade unionism of which he knows absolutely nothing.

The next day the congress was declared finished. The puppet delegates were sent back to their workplaces with strict orders to communize the workers of China, to lash them to produce more goods for the Red Chinese regime, to work overtime and on holidays without pay

in order to bring about the "industrialization of Red China" and the creation of the vast military base of which Mao has dreamed.

The 1953 congress of the All-China Federation of Labor has made clear the following:

►The Federation is not a real trade union; instead, it is a transmission belt of the Chinese Communist Party.

►Workers in Red China cannot strike nor can they be absent.

►There are no collective bargaining conferences nor any free labor contracts in Red China.

►The leadership of the All-China Federation of Labor is completely under the tight-fisted control of the Chinese Communist Party.

►The A.C.F.L. and the Chinese Party will not tolerate any demands for wage increases.

►"Labor education" under the

A.C.F.L. means nothing but Communist indoctrination.

►The All-China Federation of Labor is closely linked to the W.F.T.U. and the Soviet Union.

►The purpose of the Federation is not to protect the workers but to force them to produce more for the Communist regime. All of Red China is being transformed into a vast speed-up sweatshop.

►The All-China Federation of Labor admits that it was subsidized by the Communist regime. It is a prostitute of the Communist Party.

►The A.C.F.L. is urging the workers of Red China to "learn" from their Russian "elder brothers."

The workers of China have but one right under the Communist dictatorship over the proletariat—work, work and work harder. If they get any other order from their Communist masters, it is a short one:

"Work and shut up!"

Such is the unhappy situation of labor within Red China today.

The A. F. of L. in Massachusetts

(Continued from Page 9)

supported labor's program for social justice.

Following closely the reports of Legislative Agent Kelley through published voting records, the League has put to work the techniques learned during the life-and-death struggle of Referenda 5, 6 and 7. Every two years there has been an intensive registration drive of all unregistered voters. Labor in Massachusetts makes a careful appraisal of the political scene and moves into the districts where it can be most effective. The issues are sharply and clearly defined and presented to the voters of the state through every conceivable medium, including television.

Just before Election Day labor prepares for its major task—getting out the vote. Wherever possible, organization for such a task is carried down to the precinct level, and the polls are covered for the final reminder to the voters. Central labor unions serve as coordinators in this important task.

Of more than usual interest to the voters of Massachusetts was an election struggle engaged in by L.L.P.E. against an incumbent representative in one of the largest districts in the state, primarily composed of workers. For years this member of the Great and General Court had deluded the people into thinking that he was a friend of the working men and women of his district. Despite the obvious difficulties in view of the representative's personal popularity, L.L.P.E. decided to attempt to retire him from public office.

Calling a spade a spade, labor threw its entire weight into one of the most bitterly contested elections in years. Techniques learned the hard way paid off. The representative was replaced by the labor-backed candidate, a union business agent.

After a court fight and a legislative hearing lasting five weeks, labor's point of view on minimum wage and other social legislation was upheld in the courts and the Legislature. Labor's League had served notice to recalcitrant representatives that labor had not only the determination but the wherewithal to defeat lawmakers who ignored the interests of the workers of the commonwealth.

Ever ready to adopt new approaches

in political education, Director Lavigne established a women's auxiliary to draw the women of labor directly into participation in political life. One of the major affairs during the campaigns of last autumn was a reception and tea conducted by the women's division of L.L.P.E. where hundreds of A. F. of L. women played host to Governor Dever and the young Congressman who soon afterward became United States Senator from Massachusetts—John F. Kennedy.

Having seen the effectiveness of the postcard drive explaining the vicious Referenda 5, 6 and 7, Director Lavigne issued a request to all local unions to contribute to L.L.P.E. as many two-cent postcards as possible. The two-cent project paid off, and thousands of postcards rolled in from the locals of the Federation, ever eager and willing to do their share. The postcards were put to work during the registration drive and the many campaigns engaged in by Labor's League.

Already the groundwork for the 1954 Congressional and state elections is being formulated by Director Lavigne. A major portion of the funds needed will come from the annual Samuel Gompers Dinner, regarded by A. F. of L. trade unionists as the outstanding labor-social event of Massachusetts.

We feel that Massachusetts labor will make a strong showing in next year's election. With a powerful organization encouraged by previous successes, the labor people of Massachusetts will not forget that the ballot box is their bread box.

The third and final major field of concentration of the Massachusetts

Federation of Labor has been the ever-growing interest and participation in social and community activities. Possessing a keen sense of the vital need of community-level participation in such undertakings as the community chests, the Red Cross, the Heart Association and others, the American Federation of Labor people of Massachusetts have fully accepted such responsibility. Labor representatives are serving as key staff men in many of the community agencies, and rank-and-file members are playing a major part in rolling up their sleeves to provide blood.

American Federation of Labor members in Massachusetts have also responded to the national defense call, and are serving as members of local selective service boards.

In conjunction with the community chests, labor representatives are conducting classes for trade unionists in order to broaden the knowledge and participation in social and welfare agencies.

Wherever Massachusetts trade unionists gather, invariably the topic of conversation moves back to Referenda 5, 6 and 7. Bay State labor learned—and one of labor's real assets has been the application of its experience to create a better life for the working men and women of America. Long after Referenda 5, 6 and 7 will have been forgotten, the activities of that campaign will be ever-expanding, demonstrating that only one force may conquer labor—division.

The Massachusetts Federation of Labor, through united effort, has attained maturity in its social and community responsibility. An enlightened membership, guided by capable leadership, will continue to work toward its ultimate objectives—dignity and a full life for the working men and women of the commonwealth.

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Total A. F. of L. membership, because of its size, cannot be shown in any photograph, the author says

The Largest Voluntary Organization

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sists primarily of the skilled trades. The A. F. of L. does include the skilled in the trades, industries and arts, from marble setters and machinists to orchestra conductors. But it also has in its membership hod carriers and common laborers. In short, the membership reflects the arts, crafts and skills of the nation.

Visitors to the United States are intrigued by the term "international union." They are usually assured that this refers to unions having members both in the United States and Canada. However, it is well to note the much wider geographical coverage claimed by some unions. For example, the Masters, Mates and Pilots of America claim jurisdiction over the waters in and about the United States, Alaska, Hawaii, the Philippine Islands, Canal Zone, Puerto Rico and St. Lawrence River. The International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, along with other unions, lay claim to the whole continent of North America. The tiny Siderographers extend their jurisdiction to the United States and any other countries.

Whether the members operate on land, on the sea or in the air, their union home is in a local union. There are 50,000 of these locals affiliated with A. F. of L. unions. On the basis of 9,500,000 members, the average A. F. of L. local numbers 190 people. But the Airline Dispatchers Association has seventy-nine local unions and a membership of 524, or an average of about seven per local. It would be hard to find any national union with a smaller average local membership.

At the other end are a couple of large locals in the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union which have about 30,000 members each. The average membership in the Ladies' Garment Union is 800 per local, about four times the size of the average A. F. of L. local. The membership of the I.L.G.W.U. is probably the most concentrated of any union in the A. F. of L.

The most widely diffused membership is that of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, which has 95,000 members in 5,000 local unions. The National Association of Letter Carriers, having the same number of members, is close behind with 4,332 locals.

THE LIFE of a local union centers around collective bargaining. Its symbol is the collective bargaining contract. There are no accurate figures available as to the total number of agreements in effect. The Bureau of Labor Statistics has estimated it at over 100,000, while Cyrus Ching, former director of the Conciliation Service, said there are 250,000 (probably including numbers of identical ["form"] contracts).

If by a "collective bargaining contract" is meant an agreement with an individual firm, then 100,000 contracts seems conservative and 250,000 contracts seems a possible figure for the A. F. of L. alone. I base my conclusion upon the fact that there are over 4,000,000 firms in operation in the United States. If only one firm in forty had a union contract, the re-

sult would be 100,000 agreements. The percentage of organization among the various industries is not known with any degree of accuracy. But rough estimates made for 1947 indicate the following distribution:

Percentage of Non-Agricultural Wage and Salaried Employees Organized
All non-agricultural industries 30.7
Manufacturing 41.9
Transportation, communication and public utilities... 64.2
Building 74.6
Mining, quarrying and oil... 84.0
Services 8.8
Public services 11.9

Even if the lowest figure, 8.8 per cent, were taken and applied to the 4,000,000 firms, we would get 320,000 firms under contract. It is true the percentages quoted above refer to workers and not to firms and that the two figures need not be identical. But there is evidence to show that there is strong union organization among both the large and the small firms.

We can also arrive at an estimate of the number of contracts from the number of locals in the American Federation of Labor. As already indicated, there are 50,000 locals in the 109 national and international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. If each local, on the average, had two firms under contract, it would equal 100,000 for the A. F. of L. as a whole. But there is reason to believe that the average is higher.

For example, the 1,928 locals of the International Association of Machinists alone have 13,120 employers under contract. That is an average of seven firms per local under contract. If this average were applied to the A. F. of L., it would give us

A. F. of L. Far Ahead In New York State

The just-completed 1953 "Directory of Labor Organizations in New York State" lists a total of 5,505 locals, an increase of 11 per cent since 1950.

The compilation shows 190 national and international unions operating in New York State, whereas three years ago there were 181. Almost three-fifths are A. F. of L. affiliates, thirty-five are C.I.O. and forty-five are independent.

350,000 firms under contract in the United States and Canada.

It is not only the number but variety and magnitude of collective bargaining that is of interest. The variety has already been indicated in the references to the industries and occupations represented by the A. F. of L. But what is not sufficiently known is the magnitude of the largest A. F. of L. collective bargaining negotiation, involving over 1,000,000 non-operating railroad workers. In size no other collective bargaining undertaking comes near it.

Negotiations on the railroads are carried on between a varying number (sometimes sixteen, sometimes more) of cooperating railway labor organizations (non-operating) and three carriers' conference committees. The latter represent all the Class I railroads as well as some smaller carriers which together handle more than 95 per cent of the railroad transportation of the country.

This cooperation of sixteen, and sometimes more, railroad unions in one set of negotiations illustrates how flexible the American Federation of Labor structure is and explains the stamina of the A. F. of L. throughout its difficult history.

We are not trying to arrive at estimates of the number of firms under contract. We are primarily concerned with indicating how enormous the union operation really is.

We all know that collective bargaining is the chief, but not exclusive, activity of the local unions. But the functions of city central bodies, State Federations of Labor and the national A. F. of L. are only incidentally collective bargaining and consist pri-

marily of community and political activities.

WE HAVE devoted some attention to the industrial composition of the A. F. of L. Now let us look at its geographic distribution. There are fifty State Federations of Labor and 822 city central bodies. About two-thirds of the locals in the United States are affiliated with the central bodies. At the end of 1952 the writer secured a count of locals in the forty-eight states. They numbered 43,970 locals. If we include Canada and U.S. territories and possessions, the number comes to about 50,000.

As was to be expected, there was a concentration of locals in the industrial states. The five states with the largest number of locals are Illinois, 3,207; New York, 3,187; Pennsylvania, 3,039; California, 2,757, and Ohio, 2,783. Within these five states are located 14,973 A. F. of L. locals, or a little over one-third of all the locals in the United States. There are nine other states with 1,000 to 2,000 locals. They total 12,626 locals. The fourteen industrial states thus include 27,599 locals. But that still leaves over 16,000 locals distributed in the remaining thirty-four states. Even in such a sparsely populated state as Nevada there are 127 A. F. of L. locals.

To illustrate how widely diffused, both industrially and geographically, the A. F. of L. membership is, we want to return to the Postal Clerks with their 5,000 locals. Bear in mind that there are, all told, only 3,049 counties in the forty-eight states, so that there could be at least one local of the Postal Clerks in each county of the United States. What is true of a single international union is doubly true of the A. F. of L. with its 44,000 locals in continental United States.

We have stressed the fact that the A. F. of L. is the largest and most widely diffused voluntary organization in the United States because others have minimized the extent of the labor movement. For example, in a paper on union membership, Dr. Leo Wolman said:

"Taken simply and on their face, they [the figures] show the union movement in the United States today to be a minority movement."

The present writer, who participated in the same discussion, declared:

"Dr. Wolman, I think, makes too much of the fact that the total trade union membership represents a minority of the non-agricultural employes in the United States. However, it should be noted that permanent voluntary organizations are usually a minority. If we bear this in mind, we shall then grasp the significance of the fact that the American Federation of Labor, with 9,000,000[†] members, is the largest voluntary organization in this country. * * *

"The remark as to the votes cast for the Democrats and Republicans interjected by Dr. Wolman is not relevant here since votes are ephemeral, unions lasting. But it should be noted that the 33,000,000 votes for Eisenhower, the largest vote cast for any President, is in itself a minority, about one-third of the electorate."

As a result of this exchange, the writer felt impelled to bring together some relevant facts about the A. F. of L. and present them to the readers of *THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST*.

The steady and pervasive influence exercised by the American Federation of Labor is the product of over seventy years of organic growth. It has sunk its roots deep in every walk of life and all parts of our great land. Wherever you go, whatever you do, there you will feel the influence of the American Federation of Labor—the largest voluntary organization in the United States.

[†] This figure was used before the Bureau of Labor Statistics release was available.

'Checkoff' Proposed For Free Riders

A new sort of "checkoff" is proposed by the *Federation News*, weekly newspaper of the Chicago Federation of Labor. It suggests that "free riders" be called on to sign a card with this authorization to their employers:

"I refuse to accept any benefits won by the unions and hereby authorize and direct the company to withhold the amount of the union-won benefits from my paycheck each week and donate it to charity."

Such benefits, the paper points out, would include social security, unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation as well as wage increases, paid vacations and holidays, seniority rights and job security.

There has been no rush by non-unionists to sign such cards.

chickens. He is feeling better than when he came home. Once more, God bless the union.

The Business Agent

From The Master, Mate and Pilot

There isn't a more abused, a more misunderstood or undervalued mortal under the sun than the average business representative of an average trade union. Nor is there anyone this side of the pearly gates more deserving of the pearly gates when his time comes to die than the average business agent.

A business agent is a human being, but no one seems to think so. For example, after putting in a long day at the office, he isn't supposed to go to a show, to a party or to his lodge for the simple reason that some member may want to call him up. And if he is out of the house, he can't be called.

And what do people call a business agent about? Well, a B.A. is supposed to be able to do anything and everything. He is supposed to be able to create jobs where there are no jobs. He is supposed to know about every job and every project, not only within the local jurisdiction but in Iceland, Greenland, Jamaica, Alaska, New Brighton, Rosemount, Portage, Baraboo, Rapid City, Hollywood and God only knows where not.

A business agent is supposed to be able to just reach up in the air and pluck out a job that is hand-tailored for the guy who is out of a job. He is supposed to carry on a constant agitation for a shorter work-week, more pay, time and a half for overtime and double time for holidays, but he works from twelve to eighteen hours a day, his telephone is always busy, and if he doesn't show up at the office before 8:30, there are those willing to have him burned in crude oil for trying to act like a banker.

A good business agent is supposed to be able to settle any dispute and all disputes, and no matter how many he does settle, someone is always dissatisfied with the way he did the job. He is supposed to be able to out-talk a Philadelphia lawyer, and if he can't, there are always a half dozen or more in his union who know darn well that they could do that job without batting an eye.

A business agent is supposed to be just a human being—and that's all he is—but he is also supposed to be endowed with a sixth sense that permits him to tell offhand just how long a job will last, how cold it gets in Newfoundland, how much it will cost for room and board in Anchorage, and the current value of Cities Service stock.

He has to visit the sick, attend funerals, pass the hat to buy tools for some fellow who lost his in a crap game, act as co-signer on small loans, furnish bail for members unfortunate enough to get into the toils of the law, arrange for legal assistance, and attend all dances, bazaars, raffles, shindigs, wakes and reunions.

And that isn't all. A good business representative should be able to settle domestic quarrels that the Court of Good Will and Mr. Anthony would duck in abject fear.

He has to know *all* the answers, and if he doesn't, *God 'elp 'im!*

Arkansas Acts

From Colorado Labor Advocate

We note that the state of Arkansas has challenged the constitutionality of the offshore oil giveaway by filing suit on the ground that the undersea oil and mineral deposits belong to all the forty-eight states and not to three or four states. Colorado should join Arkansas in that suit.

The last regular session of the Colorado General Assembly adopted a memorial condemning the so-called tidelands oil bill. That should open the way for Attorney-General Duke Dunbar to investigate the possibilities of either joining with Arkansas and other states expected to contest the law or instituting a suit of our own to determine the constitutionality of this statute.

Congressional opponents of the offshore oil giveaway sought to channel revenue from these vast underwater deposits to educational purposes in *all* the states. In this they were defeated and the giveaway to the oil barons in three or four states steam-rollered through.

Two weeks ago, in attacking the old-age pension system in Colorado, Governor Thornton argued, among other things, that the disproportionate share of state revenue going to pensions helped cripple education in this state.

Here is the governor's opportunity to help rectify the ills of education — without robbing old-age pensioners of the pittance now allowed them. How about it, Governor? Will you throw your weight behind this move to benefit your state and forty-three others?

One in Every Union

From The Oregon Teamster

Yes, there is one in every union. Do you know him?

There's a certain kind of "union member" that most of us know about. We'll describe a few things about him just to see if he doesn't sound like someone you know.

He thinks that the few dollars he spends in dues each month entitle him to the full-time, personal services of a union representative. He wants *action* from his union — more, better, faster, oftener than anybody else. But don't ever make the mistake of suggesting that maybe his dues ought to be raised so he can get it. Brother, that's murder!

It doesn't matter to him that the contract under which he works was hammered out only after long, burdensome, exhausting and complicated negotiations and represents the very finest possible. To him it stinks. Or, if he thinks it's pretty good, it should have been better. Never did he get time to attend the meeting, though, when his union was drafting contract proposals.

He wants to know how come the union can't get him a pension plan, triple pay for holidays and a 36-hour week starting day after tomorrow. The fault, he's convinced, is the union's.

"Them guys ain't on the ball," he growls. "They don't know how to get things done."

Oh, yes, he's heard about NLRB and the T-H Law. But they don't apply to him.

It makes him mad when the union has to

spend money for legal, statistical and other expenses connected with trying to get him a raise. But he's thirty days delinquent in his dues.

He yells and screams for the union to do something about high prices, rent controls, knuckle-headed Congressmen and a dumb traffic cop who gave him a ticket. Uh, huh. You guessed it. He ain't even a registered voter.

What can you do about a guy like that? Cuss him or pray for him? Who knows? But it does seem that those who ask their union to do more and more for them are the ones who usually give their union less and less. And the member who does the least for his union often turns out to be the member who needs it the most.

If Makes a Difference

From The West African Worker

This is a true story from Sierra Leone:

There were two workers called Joseph Williams and Joe Macauley, both of whom learned the same trade and both of whom passed the trade test qualification of first-class carpenter and joiner. Although they worked in different departments, they received exactly the same rate of pay.

Both of them had an accident at work and, strange as it may seem, the percentage disability fixed by the doctor was 30 per cent in each case. They each received compensation under the law.

Shortly afterwards, they met to discuss their compensation.

"I have received 185 pounds compensation," said Joe Macauley.

"What!" exclaimed Joseph Williams.

"One hundred and eighty-five pounds compensation," repeated Joe Macauley. "What did you receive?"

Joseph Williams sadly replied: "My full compensation was 21 pounds, 11 shillings. Why should this be? We are doing the same work and we had the same percentage disability. I have also been dismissed."

Joe Macauley looked at his friend.

"Are you a member of the union?" he asked.

"No," replied Joseph Williams. "Will that help me?"

"What do you think?" Joe Macauley asked. "I am a member and I have received nearly ten times as much compensation as you. My union did this for me. You should join the union now."

Joseph Williams thanked him and went straight to the union office.

Labor and Education

From Voice of the Cement Workers

When Horace Mann first started his move for free public education over a hundred years ago, his opposition came from the wealthy industrial leaders of the day. With the backing of wage-earners' organizations, Mann's dream of free public education for all children became a reality.

It is ironic, then, to view our educational system today and see how little is taught of the labor movement. In academic courses we study about the economic growth of our country and its industry, with only a passing

ing reference to labor unions. In vocational schools we learn to use the tools of the various crafts, but little is taught of craft or industrial unionism.

Some of this lack of practical education is made up by the National Association of Manufacturers. The N.A.M. spends a great deal of time and money supplying schools and teachers with booklets, movies, posters and other material slanted to the N.A.M.

view. An article by Gilbert Gies in *The Progressive*, which used the N.A.M.'s own sources and quotations for most of its findings, revealed that two out of every three American high school students read N.A.M. propaganda from N.A.M. pamphlets.

Because this condition exists, many labor organizations have instituted systematic educational programs. These programs are designed to combat slanted views, such as

Portugal and Labor-in-Africa

(Continued from Page 22)

peans who brought to the natives of their African provinces the genuine principles of democracy and Christianity—to wit, total abolition of color bar, religious and social freedoms, and equality before the law and the civil service.

As for "paternalistic," as opposed to whatever doctrines seem best to others, it has seldom occurred to the theorists to ask the natives themselves what their feelings are on the matter.

It seems pertinent to relate the disappointment of an enterprising newspaperman from abroad who, a few years ago, visited some backward sections of Mozambique (Portuguese East Africa). Interviewing a Bantu chieftain in a native village, he tried, subtly, to grasp the opinion of the natives about their "Portuguese masters," but the Bantu man appeared quite confused by the question. At last, the reporter asked bluntly:

"What I mean is, do your people feel that the time has come to throw out the Portuguese yoke?"

The native's feelings were hurt, and he replied:

"Why should they throw us out? We Portuguese treat everybody nicely." (The italics are mine.)

This is the moral climate under which the Portuguese overseas administration is carried on, the determining factor which makes it possible for natives and whites to partake of the same work and aspirations.

This article does not purport to show that conditions in the Portuguese overseas provinces are perfect in every respect, or that the final stage has been reached. No administration is completely free of errors which experience and good-will tend to correct; the Portuguese do have more experience than anybody else in dealing with the native peoples, and their good-will has been amply proven.

A point recently raised in *THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST* about the labor conditions on the docks of Angola (Portuguese West Africa) deserves some clarification, inasmuch as there is no compulsory native labor, except in fulfillment of court sentences for common crimes, and that only in public works of which the native will benefit—which, in any case, would never be dock labor.

Articles 145, 146 and 147 of the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic are explicit:

Article 145

The following shall be prohibited:

(I) all systems under which the state undertakes to furnish native la-

borers to any enterprises working for their own profit;

(II) all systems under which the natives in any territorial area are compelled to work for such enterprises, no matter under what heading.

Article 146

The state may only compel natives to work on public schemes of general benefit to the community, in occupations the proceeds of which belong to them, in execution of judicial decisions of a penal nature or for the fulfillment of fiscal obligations.

Article 147

The system of labor contracts with natives shall be based on individual liberty and on the right to a fair wage and assistance, the public authorities intervening only for the purposes of supervision.

The details of procedure, wages and hours of the native dock workers in Angola are contained in a report of June 11, 1953, signed by the press officer of the Embassy of Portugal and addressed to the president of the American Federation of Labor, which describes the following extant conditions:

"Any native wishing to work at the docks, either loading or unloading or servicing, will have to register with the Port Authority to become eligible for that type of work. The private companies then request from the Port Authority the names and addresses of eligible workers, to whom they offer individual contracts, subject to the following salary table:

"Ordinary dock workers—20 angolares per day (normal hours)

"Winch man—25 angolares per day (normal hours)

"Native foremen—35 to 50 angolares (normal hours)

"For three hours of extra work—from 5 P.M. to 8 P.M.—the native earns, in addition, the equivalent of a full day's salary.

"For work performed through abnormal hours on abnormal days (Saturdays, Sundays and holidays), the extra rate is even higher. It is common for a native dock worker to earn, under such circumstances, four times his regular salary in a single day."

What does happen too frequently is that the dock hand, after working two or three days, quits the job for the rest of the week. He figures that he has already earned enough to carry him until next week, and his urge for a very long and idle weekend is stronger than his desire for savings.

This rule is not general among the na-

N.A.M.'s, and also to inform working men and women of the union movement's history, principles and aims.

The need for a union education or training program is not only brought about by the lack of such education in our school system but also by our complex, changing society. Today's labor laws have become so complicated that union leaders must practically become lawyers to hold office.

tives, but it is current behavior in many cases.

As the native work is purely on a voluntary basis, they cannot be compelled to return to their jobs until they so wish. But, on the other hand, the dock services cannot be halted. Therefore, the Port Authority sanctions private deals between the companies and unskilled—i.e., unregistered—natives, provided such deals conform with the *Código do Trabalho dos Indígenas* (Native Labor Act).

These non-registered dock workers are usually hired on the spot to fill in for the absent "regulars," and their minimum salary is eleven angolares per day (plus two angolares for each extra hour) and their meals, lodging, work clothes and medical assistance according to specifications of the provincial health services.

For the purpose of comparison it would be absurd to translate into dollars the salaries in angolares (the angolar corresponds to a Portuguese escudo) at the official rate of exchange. For one thing, the purchasing power of a dollar (or equivalent) in Portuguese West Africa is six times greater than in the average American town. For another, certain expensive habits typical of the United States or certain zones of Europe are not a part of daily life in Angola, either among the Negroes or whites.

What this all means is that the salary of a native dock worker in Portuguese West Africa is fair and adequate. Should he wish to work a full week, he could amply provide for his family and still make a few savings. His whim alone dictates when he wants to work or to quit working—hardly a characteristic of "slave labor."

By the terms of the *Carta Organica Ultramarina* (Overseas Act) of 1933, the local government authority is directed to act upon any native complaint against an employer. If the native should find that his complaint was sidetracked by the government official, he appeals directly to an independent judicial body, *Comissão de Defesa dos Indígenas* (Board for the Defense of the Natives), created by a law of February 6, 1929, which has the power to review the case and to force disciplinary action against any government official found at fault.

WORK
SAFELY

WHAT THEY SAY

T. C. Carroll, president, Maintenance of Way Employes—Theodore



Roosevelt did not approve of the then accepted theory regarding our natural resources—that the general prosperity of the country could best be advanced through their development by private capital. Had he not acted in time, there would be no national forests today. During the administration of Theodore Roosevelt the area of the national forests was increased from 43,000,000 to 194,000,000 acres. Here was a Republican President who could visualize the complete depletion of our national resources by selfish interests. Through his conservation program vast areas were held in trust for all the people of the country. It is evident that President Eisenhower does not share the views of Theodore Roosevelt, who broke the stranglehold of a small minority through the Reclamation Act of 1902. While the President is to be commended for his efforts to resist federal encroachment upon rights and affairs of the states, he should also give cognizance to the fact that the American people as a whole have long been considered the real owners of the national reserves.

Paul Douglas, Senator from Illinois—I feel very strongly that something



needs to be done about the situation which permits party professionals to decide who shall become the Presidential nominee. Agreements and compromises in the selection of a Presidential candidate are undoubtedly necessary, but when these are made in a public opinion vacuum, without the voter having any voice at all, the democratic process is not working. What is really needed is a nationwide Presidential primary. State convention

maneuvering is done in the absence of any vote of the people of the state. If the rank-and-file party members were on record, it would be hard for the political bosses to go against their will. At present about two-thirds of the states do not have primaries, and these states have well over half the national convention delegates. If we could get the primary system universally extended, the will of the people could be known and there would be fewer manipulations. The people believe that the Presidency is the unique office of America which belongs to them. They want to have their will considered. They do not want to have a small group of party professionals make the decisions.

Lester Washburn, president, United Auto Workers, A. F. of L.—All forms



of discrimination are wrong, but discrimination that deprives people of equal opportunities for employment and advancement is inhuman because it denies them the opportunity to earn a decent living. It denies them educational opportunities for themselves and their children. It contributes to the increase rather than the elimination of slums. I think we could all agree that if everyone would live by the Ten Commandments or the Golden Rule we would need no other laws and there would be no problem of discrimination. But we all know too well that without many of our socially approved laws, with their accompanying penalties, we would now be living in a horrible and lawless society, with discrimination and other forms of inhumanity running rampant. We in the labor movement do not believe that you can ever force a person to be unprejudiced if he is determined to be prejudiced, just as you cannot force management to enjoy dealing with labor if it is determined to be antagonistic. What you can do is to achieve rough justice by legislating, with certain penalties, a minimum code of practices which is con-

sidered to be in the interest of all people. That is the reason we are in favor of state and eventually federal fair employment practice legislation to supplement whatever we can do by a more effective practice of our principles on local levels, secured through persuasion and voluntary efforts.

James M. Mead, member, Federal Trade Commission—The economy of



the United States is based on the principle of fair competition. The Federal Trade Commission was created to protect and encourage fair competition.

This country is moving into a period of plentiful supply of goods. As competition becomes keener, false or deceptive advertising increases. Able economists differ as to the extent and rate of concentration in American business. We should have the complete facts on concentration to aid in establishing and executing national policy. In concentrated industries where there are only a few large producers, pricing and production policies may be established without the governing influence of the law of supply and demand. In the event the forces outside such industries are not sufficiently strong to cause competition within the industries, the Federal Trade Commission should exert vigorous efforts, within the letter and spirit of existing law, to restore competition to such industries.

Herbert H. Lehman, U.S. Senator from New York—The Washington



keynote today is economy. None of us can have any quarrel with economy. We are all against waste, inefficiency and non-essential expenditures. But there are many

kinds of economy. There is genuine economy and there is camouflage economy, intelligent economy and reckless economy, selective economy and cutthroat economy.

Listen to Frank Edwards and keep posted from day to day.

SUMMER MEETING-II

INSIDE the shelter house there were benches and a few small tables. The Junior Unionists found only one other occupant who had sought cover from the pounding rain. The wind howled, a flash of light cut across the sky and the thunder which followed caused Tommy to remark:

"Gosh, that sounded like the crack of doom."

"It was the doom of something nearby," exclaimed Elinor.

"Sounded like a tree," said Bruce as he joined them. "It's going to be hot in here if we have to keep closed up long."

"Perhaps we can open the side away from the wind," suggested Blanche.

"It seems to be coming from all sides," said Bruce.

They were joined by the woman who was in the shelter house with them. She was obviously quite upset by the storm.

"May I sit with some of you young people?" she asked. "Storms frighten me almost to death. Especially thunder. It's much worse than the lightning to me. My husband ran over to close the car, and I expect he had to stay inside to keep from being soaked."

"We're glad to have you join us," said Elinor, introducing herself and her companions to the woman, who in turn gave them her name.

"I'm Mrs. Walton. We live in Windsor. I do hope this doesn't last long."

"I'm from Bayville," said Elinor. "But about half of us here are from Windsor. Maybe there is someone you know."

"I don't know many of the young people of the town, as I have no children in my family, and we haven't lived there long enough to meet many, but I think I recognize some of the boys and girls just from seeing them around," said Mrs. Walton.

Bruce walked away and returned

with two or three of the Windsor young people. Before long they had entered into a lively conversation with Mrs. Walton. They found they had some friends in common, and this knowledge seemed to ease the strain Mrs. Walton was under. However, from time to time she expressed concern over her husband's absence. The fact that the storm did not abate added to her anxiety.

"She is almost hysterical with worry," Nancy whispered to Bruce.

"As soon as there is a letup I'll go see if I can find her husband," volunteered Bruce.

Finally the storm slackened.

"If you'll tell me where your car is parked, I'll see if I can get to it," he told Mrs. Walton. "I'm sure your husband is all right, but you'll feel better if you know for certain."

As Bruce went out, the wet, cold air which greeted him was quite a change from the atmosphere of the closed shelter house. Shivering, he struck off across the muddy ground in the direction of the parking lot. As he neared the space he saw that a large oak tree had fallen across two cars. One was empty, but he could not tell about the other until he ran around the great pile of branches and crawled through some. Then he realized the second car was occupied.

"It must be Mr. Walton," he thought. He called his name.

"I'm here, but I can't get out," came from the interior of the car.

"Are you hurt?" called Bruce.

"Not much. At least, I think I'm all right. But I'm penned in. The car roof is smashed in and I can't get any of the doors open. Can you get help?"

"Yes, I'll be right back," said Bruce. Away he ran, slipping and sliding in the mud.

Upon his arrival at the shelter house he told Mrs. Walton her husband was unhurt but unable to get out of the car. He enlisted the aid of a number, and the rescue squad

returned to the car, while several of the girls remained with Mrs. Walton.

It was no easy task to get through the branches and leaves of the fallen tree to the car. There were no tools of any sort, and the boys tore at the limbs with their bare hands, breaking the smaller ones wherever possible. At last they managed to pry open one door enough for the prisoner to squirm out. He had suffered minor cuts from the broken glass and wrenching his leg and back getting out through the narrow opening.

"Your wife is with friends," one of the boys told him. "She was worried about you, so Bruce decided to investigate."

"I'm more than grateful," Mr. Walton said as he limped painfully along.

At the shelter house Mr. and Mrs. Walton were the center of attention. He recounted his story of the fallen tree and his joy at being rescued. Bruce came in for praise for leading the rescue party.

When Mr. Walton learned that the boys and girls were members of the Junior Unions of Bayville and his home town of Windsor, he was very pleased. He himself was a staunch trade unionist, and he promised to give his support to the youngsters if ever they should need it.

By this time several of the parents of the boys and girls from both towns arrived at the picnic grove to fetch them home. Fortunately, there was room in one of the cars for the Waltons.

So in the cool of the after-storm the Junior Unionists adjourned their summer meeting.

The American Federation of Labor will be glad to send worthwhile free literature about labor to any girl or boy who is interested. To obtain this free material, please mail your name and address to Junior Union, 901 Massachusetts Ave. N. W., Washington 1, D. C.

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